

LUN LAKĀRA IN PĀNINI

**(DERIVATIONAL PROCESS AND
USE OF AORIST)**

CHAND KIRAN SALIJA



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mediate past.

The present small research work discusses the derivational process of *luṇ lakāra* in *Aṣṭādhyāyī*

Pāṇinian grammar classifies verbal stems into ten types. Aorist (*luṇ lakāra*) is one of these types and denotes an action which has a reference to a simple past.

Some think that originally in Proto-Indo-European (PIE), the aorist has nothing to do with this sense, and a past sense could be expressed by means of an aorist stem only if it was supported by the augment. But in *Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī* the aorist has become simple past, when the action has taken place in the immediate past.

LUN̐ LAKĀRA IN PANINI

(DERIVATIONAL PROCESS AND
USE OF AORIST)

CHAND KIRAN SALUJA

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"Let him, in order to understand this, take fuel in his hand and approach a Guru who is learned and dwells entirely in Brahman"

Because of my limitation of language, knowledge and ways of expression, I am unable to find words to express my indebtedness to my Gurū Prof. PREM SINGH, Department of Linguistics, University of Delhi. The present work has taken its form under his affectionate painstaking supervision.

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Abbreviations

A	Aṣṭādhyāyī
AB	Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa
AV	Atharva-Veda Saṁhitā (Saunaka recension)
AVP	Atharvaveda Saṁhitā (Paippalāda recension)
ĀPŚ	Apastambha-Śrauta-sūtra
aor.	Aorist
GB	Gopatha Brāhmaṇa
H	Hitopadeśa
KS	Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā
LŚ	Lāṭāyana-śrauta-sūtra
M/Mbh.	Mahābhārata
MS	Maitrāyaṇī-Saṁhitā
MŚ	Mānava-śrauta-sūtra
Pres.	Present tense
Pl.	Plural
R	Rāmāyaṇa
RV	Ṛgveda-Saṁhita
ŚB	Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa

ŚŚ	Śāṅkhyāyana-Śrauta-Sūtra
ŚG	Śāṅkhyāyana-Gṛhya-Sūtra
Sing	Singular
SV	Sāmaveda-Saṁhitā
TA	Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka
TB	Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa
TS	Taittirīya-Saṁhitā
VS	Vājasaneyī-Saṁhitā (Mādhyandina recension)
VSK	Vājasaneyī-Saṁhitā (Kāṇva recension)
Vāit	Vāitāna-Sūtra

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Chapter-I

Introduction

In Sanskrit, a past action is denoted by three tenses;

the Imperfect (*Lañ Lakāra*)

the Perfect (*Luṭ lakāra*)

the Aorist (*Luñ lakāra*)

Thus, Aorist¹ is one of these three past forms which has a reference to a past action in general, without reference to any particular time, whereas Imperfect past², in Sanskrit, refers to the sense of the past before the commencement of the current day and Perfect past³, refers to the sense of the past before the commencement of the current day and unperceived by the narrator.

It is thought, in general, that each of these three tenses had a signification of its own and was used in its proper sense in ancient writings but later on when Sanskrit ceased to be a spoken language, the exact senses of these tenses were lost sight of and writers began to use them

1. *luñ* (A.3.2.110)

2. *anadyatane lañ* (A.3.2.111)

3. *parokṣe luṭ* (A.3.2.115)

promiscuously, so that now any of these may be used to denote past time with certain limitations¹.

Discussing the position of Aorist, Bhandarkar remarks that "the so called aorist expresses simply the completion of an action without reference to any particular time, or a recent or this day's action. It is similar to the English Present Perfect which is defined as an action as having happened in a portion of time which is not yet expired. It brings a past action into connection with the present time"².

The other name given to it, by western scholars, is **Third Preterite**.

Monier Williams observes that although the three past tenses are used without much distinction, yet it should be observed, that they properly express different degrees of past time³.... the aorist refers to an event done and past at some indefinite period, whether before or during the current day; it corresponds in form and sense to the Greek 1st and 2nd aorist, and sometimes to the pluperfect. He further remarks "the fact is, that the three past tenses are not very commonly used to represent the completeness of an action. This is generally done by employing the Past Passive Participle with an instrumental case; or by adding *vat* to the Past Passive, and combining it with the Present tense of *as*, 'to be' as, *uktvān asmi*, 'I have said.'⁴"

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1. M.R.Kaley; A Higher Sanskrit Grammar; p.521.
 2. Second Book of Sanskrit; p.154.
 3. A Practical Grammar of Sanskrit Language; p.134.
 4. Second Book of Sanskrit; p.ix

Bhandarkar notes that aorist indicates past time; the imperfect shows a past action done previous to this day; and perfect, a past event which took place before this day, and which was not witnessed by the speaker. The first *sūtra* *luṇi* (A. 3.2.110) gives a general rule, the second *anadyatane laṇi* (A.3.2.111) is an exception to it, and third an exception to this again; the past time, therefore, left according to *Pāṇini's* system of rules and exception for '*luṇi*' to indicate, is *adyatan*, that is to say, this day's, *luṇi* can also by these *Sūtras* indicate past time generally, i.e. express simply the completion of an action without reference to any particular past time. He further adds that by another *sūtras*:

nānadyatanavāt kriyā prabandhasāmīpyayoḥ
(*Pāṇini*, 3.3.135) *luṇi* express recent and continuous past action in addition.

Thus according to *Pāṇini*, *luṇi lakāra* indicates:

1. Past time generally
2. the past time of this day and not previous to this day and
3. recent past time.

Bhandarkar observes in *Aitareya Brāhmaṇas*, wherever stories are told, the so called imperfect or the perfect is always used, and the Aorist never occurs. On the contrary, when the persons in the story are represented as speaking with one another they use Aorist. Discussing the reason for it, he says that there is no scope for recent past time in mere narration, and things that have just or

recent occurred can come to be spoken of only when persons are talking with each others¹.

Further remarked that the language of this *Brāhmaṇa* is very rich in verbal forms, and especially of the Aorist and follow the rules of *Pāṇini* except in few cases. He gives the following list of the forms of this tense²:

<i>ajani</i>	<i>avocat</i>	<i>mā dṛthāh</i>	<i>akrata</i>
<i>abhūta</i>	<i>abhākta</i>	<i>aduh</i>	<i>adīkṣiṣṭa</i>
<i>apatsata</i>	<i>abhākṣuḥ</i>	<i>ādita</i>	<i>mā pāt</i>
<i>akar</i>	<i>avocan</i>	<i>avākṣiḥ</i>	<i>avocah</i>
<i>mā duṣat</i>	<i>ājñāsthāh</i>	<i>agrahīt</i>	<i>avocama</i>
<i>āpāma</i>	<i>ājñāsama</i>	<i>acārīt</i>	<i>ajaiṣiḥ</i>
<i>adarśama</i>	<i>āsiṣata</i>	<i>ahaūṣīt</i>	<i>adrukṣah</i>
<i>mā parigāta</i>	<i>astrta</i>	<i>avocat</i>	<i>mā gāta</i>
<i>adṛpat</i>	<i>adāt</i>	<i>agāsīt</i>	<i>ajñata</i>
<i>abhū</i>	<i>avadhīt</i>	<i>aśaṁsīt</i>	<i>avādīḥ</i>
<i>avadhīh</i>	<i>ajījanat</i>	<i>ayākṣīt</i>	

It is assumed that only five forms, *ajñata*; *akrata*; *akar*; *ājñāsam* and *amukṣah* do not conform to the rules laid down by *Pāṇini*. Accordingly Aorist should never be used in narratives.

Commentator *Kaunḍabhaṭṭa* in his work '*Lakārārtha nirṇaya* comments on *luṇi* as:

luṇarthamāh bhūtamātre iti. bhūte ityadhikāre 'luṇ' iti sūtrāt. yathā 'abhūt' ityādiatra vidyamāna dhvaṁsapratyogitvaṁ bhūtatvaṁ, tacca kriyāyām

1. Second Book of Sanskrit; p.vii

2. Second Book of Sanskrit; p.xiii

nīrbādhamiti vidyamāne api ghaṭe 'ghaṭo abhūt' iti prayogaḥ.

(Now the author) states the meaning of *Luñ*, (with the words) 'in the sense of past in general,' on the strength of the rule *luñ*, which occurs, under the leading *bhūte*. For example, (the form) '*abhūt*' 'became,' 'happened'. Here (by) pastness (is meant), the property of being the counter positive of consequent absence at the present time. And this is no way incompatible with the action (in question), so that, even when a pot actually exists, one says (correctly) the pot came into being'. It is remarked that the property of being the counterpositive of the consequent absence existing now, has to belong to action and not to that which is the locus of action. Thus what really means is *varṭamāndhvaṃsa pratīyogī kriyolakṣitatvaṃ bhūtatvaṃ*:

pastness is characterised by an action which is the counter positive of the consequent absence existing in the present. It is due to this that the usage *ghaṭo abhūt* can be called correct, even when the pot in question which is the locus of the action of becoming is still in existence. It is the action of becoming which is past¹.

According to V.S. Apte "the aorist has reference to a past time indefinitely or generally, without reference to any particular time. An action done before today is expressed by the perfect or imperfect; whatever remains for the aorist is, therefore, to express a past action, done very recently, say in the course of the current day or

1. Jayshree A. Gune; The meaning of Tenses and Moods.

having reference to a present act. Aorist, therefore, merely implies the completion of an action at a past time generally, and also an action done at a very recent time, as during the course of this day. The imperfect and perfect are used in narrating events of past occurrence, generally in remote past times where the aorist is used in dialogues and conversations which refer to recent past actions, but it is not used to denote past specified time or to narrate events.”¹

Aorist, therefore covers simply a statement of a past action referring mostly to a recent occurrence as during the course of the present day.

Vaiyākaraṇa Siddhāntakaumudīkāra Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita, one of the commentators of *Aṣṭādhyāyī* explains the sūtra ‘*Luñ*’ (A. 3.2.110) as *bhūtārthavṛtteḥ dhātoḥ luñ syāt* ‘the affix ‘*luñ*’ may be employed after a root in the sense of the past generally.’

There are special and peculiar uses of *luñ* as *māñi luñ* (A. 3.3.175) which means that when *luñ* is employed with the particle *mā*, aorist displaces all other tenses and the sense is that of command. Thus *mā kārṣiḥ*² means ‘don’t do’ According to sūtra *smottare lañ ca* (A. 3.3.176) when the particle ‘*mā*’ is followed the particle *sma* both *lañ* and *luñ* are employed in the sense of command.

1. Quoted by S.C.Vasu in *The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini* (Vol.I); p. 458.

2. The augment *a* is omitted by the Sūtra: *na māñ yoge*.

By the *sūtra*, *purī luṇ cāsme* (A.3.2.122) when the word *purā* is used and *sma* is not used alongwith, *luṇ* is employed¹.

1. the augment *a* is omitted by the *sūtra na māṇyoge*

2. and also *laṭ* when the time involved is not the current day.

Bloomfield and Edgerton² report that the vedic poets show even greater keenness of feeling in their use of preterite indicatives especially, is this true of the Aorist, which is typically used to denote an accomplished fact within the range of the speaker's own knowledge, so that it is a favourite mode of confident assertion, especially of recent events. It is further added that although the imperfect, perfect and passive participle all appear commonly enough in interchange with moods, the aorist is the commonest of all. This kind of aorist, especially common in the literature of magic and conjuration, has been called with some propriety 'prophetic aorist'. So some texts say:

ajñasā satyam upāgām

'I have speedily attained unto truth'

But the majority, nine in number, use an optative aorist :

ajñasā satyam upa geṣam

'May I speedily attain unto truth!'

-
1. and also *laṭ* when the time involved is not the current day.
 2. Vedic Variants (Vol.I); p. 81-82.

And this variant is a valuable commentary on the aorist indicative of other texts; it really means only that such is the speaker's earnest and insistent desire. Sometimes the same text contains expressions with different verbal forms and which are close to each other types of expression.

Bloomfield and Edgerton in their study on Vedic Variants¹ have observed a large number of variations of aorist forms and classified these variations as :

i) **Aorist Indicative and imperative in principal clauses; e.g.**

januṣṭa (TS. *januṣvā*, MS. *ṣva*) *hi jenyō agre ahnām* (RV. TS. MS. KS.)

'He has been (be thou) born, noble, at the break of days'.

sūryasya cakṣur āruham (VS. *āroha*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Ap.S. M.S. 'The eye of *sūrya* I have mounted (mount thou)'

ii) **Aorist Indicative and Subjunctive in principal clauses. e.g.** *anu* (MS. adds *mām*, TA *vām*) *dyāvāprthivī* (MS. adds *anu me*) *amaṇsātām* (TA. also *maṇs*; MS. *maṇsā*; p.p. *amaṇsā*) VS. MS. SB. TA. (bis) ŚŚ. LS. 'Heaven and earth have favoured (shall favour) me'

pūṣā mādhat (AV. *mā dhāt*, MS. *nā ādhāt*) *sukṛtasya loke* (AV. TS. MS. KS.)

'*Pūṣan* hath placed (shall place) me in the world of pious deed.'

1. A Study of Variants Reading in the Repeated Mantras of the *Veda*.

In this category they regard that 'there is, indeed, really nothing that can decide in such a case, whether to regard the augmentless form as a preterite or an injunctive; since, as we have now abundantly seen, the 'true' preterites may be used just as well as modal forms in any situation.'

iii) Aorist Indicative and optative (Preactive) in principal clauses. e.g.

devasya (*devasyāhañ*, VSK *devasya vāyam*) *savituh prasava* (*sava*)... *ruheyam* (G.B. *roheyam* VSK. *ruhema*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. GB. ŚB. TB. Vait LS. Aps. MS... *arūham* VS. ŚB.... *aruhāma* VSK.

āditya nāvam druṣaḥ (AVPpp. *āruhañ*; SMB. *āroṣam*) AV. SMB.; *sūrya nāvam āruṣaḥ* AV. : *imāñ su nāvam* (read, *sunāvam*?) *druham* TS. KS. Ap. *sunāvan āruheyam* VS.

'O sun, thou hast (I have) mounted the ship.'
'I have mounted (May I mount) this good ship,

iv) Aorist indicative and Future in principal clauses, e.g. *agnim sve yonāu* (VSK. MS. KS. *yonā*) *abhār* (Aps. *yonau bharīṣyaty*) *ukhā* VS. VSK. TS. MS., KS. ŚB. Apś.

'The pot hath borne (shall bear) *Agni* in her own womb.'

v) Aorist Indicative and Desiderative in a principal clause. e.g. *na yac chūdreṣu alapsata* (ŚŚ *alipsata*) AB. ŚŚ. "Which they (one) would not find (even) among *śudras*." *alipsata* imperf. desid; *alapsata*, 3 pl. aor. ind.;

They observe that in quite a number of cases preterites of all sorts and modal forms interchange in dependent clauses. In RV 10.48.4;

*purū sahasrā nī śīśāmī dāśuṣe, yan mā somāsa
ukthino amandīṣuḥ*

‘Many thousands do I secure for my worshiper when the *soma* libations accompanied by songs of praise have incited me.’¹

It is observed that aorist is here just as modal as the subjunctive; it is so called prophetic aorist which states a wish as an accomplished fact.’

The tense commonly remains unchanged, but sometimes, as in above example, it is shifted without any restrictions.

Bloomfield and Edgerton accept that it is hard to distinguish modal forms of the root-present and the *a*-present (aorist present) from the modal forms of the root aorist and the *a*-aorist².

In a few cases prohibitives, normally augmentless aorists, vary with augmented forms of the same or a similar tense system, there is no change of meaning³.

gaṇān me mā vī trīṭṛṣas (MŚ. ṣat) TS. MŚ. :
gaṇān me mā vy arīṣaḥ Vait.

‘Do not make thirsty (injure) my troops.’

Kern⁴ notes that aorist is expressive of any past, either historical or acutal; ‘*akārṣam*’ may be ‘I did’ and ‘I have done’. Here actual past signified the such past acts as are so recent as not to have lost their acutuality at the time of their being related. According to him, the aorist is used side

1. Vedic Variants; p. 57

2. Vedic Variants; p.21.

3. Vedic Variants; p.93.

4. Sanskrit Syntax; p. 252

by side with the participles in '-tavant' and 'ta'; (neither imperfect nor perfect are then available. "I have seen the man" is 'adrākṣam puruṣam' or 'dṛṣṭavānasmi', not *apaśyam* no *dadarśa*.

It has also been discussed that aorist may be translated by a present; 'as you say.'¹ In the archaic dialect of the *brāhmaṇa-granthās* etc. the aorist seems to serve exclusively for the actual past. Delbruck remarks that in such kind of works the aorist 'akrata' is used in the historical sense. According to Kern, the contrast between the historical tenses and the aorist is so striking there that it cannot possibly overlooked by anybody who go through these writings². It is further added that the most instructive passages are such, as mention the same fact twice, first when told by the author, afterwards when put into the mouth of one of the actors. in the historical account, we find the imperfect or perfect while the aorist is found in the ORATIO DIRECTA. Delbrück has given a great number of instances from the *Śatapatha* and the *Āitreya Brāhmaṇa*.

In fact, it is noted by the scholars that the aorist is used throughout the Sanskrit literature in both its **acceptations**, actual and historical. Instances of the historical aorist occur in the *R̥gveda* though not many are recorded³. Macdonell⁴

1 Śāk.II; p. 38. (ed. *Tarkavāgīśa*)

2. Sanskrit Syntax; p. 253

3. It is commented over this fact that being the prayer book, it is not the fittest book from which to learn the historical style of a language. It may be common in epic poetry.

4. Vedic Grammar

and Whitney¹ give the detailed account of use of aorist in this prayer book and observe that afterwards it is no less frequent than the other historical tenses. But in easy proseworks and in compositions of rather simple style, the aorist is comparatively rare, and mostly it is limited to certain verbs occurring commonly, as *abhūt*, *agmat*, *avādīt*. Kern observes that in more elegant style, in the works of writers such as *Danḍin*, *Bāṇabhaṭṭa*, *Somadeva*, the aorist is employed as often and with as much ease as the other past tenses. Accordingly he remarks, 'for this reason, I am astonished at the statement that the aorist is 'seldom' employed in classic literature. Discussing the gist of the observations of Brugmann it is asserted that in the *R̥gveda* there is no functional difference between present and aorist either in respect of aspect or in respect of recent and remote past². It is remarked that Kurlylowicz also agrees with this point. Delbrück's observation is mentioned as, that in the oldest period the (augmented) imperfect refers to the remote, the (augmented) aorist to the recent and actual past³. But it is seen that the thorough examination of some large collections of text-places seems to show that things are much more complicated. Outside the system of the remote-past, the indicative of the aorist can state past events and refer to the previous past. The picture has been presented in a way that the imperfect is the usual form to speak of the mythical past, but the aorist may in narratives or descriptions of mythical or legendary events more or less

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1. Sanskrit Grammar
 2. Old Indian; p. 128
 3. also Hoffman.

‘dramatacally’ alternate with it. It is observed that although many places are doubtful or far from conclusive, the tendency to distinguish between an ‘aoristic’ and an ‘imperfective’ aspect, though often completely absent, is indeed unmistakable¹. In the oldest texts, the aorist refers too often to special cases, single detail, isolated occurrences, is too often used in connection with processes which, though durative in nature, are viewed without regard to duration to be regarded as merely and purely temporal in character.

Roderick S. Bucknell² remarks that the aorist tense is said to be strictly appropriate only for events which have occurred in the very recent past and/or which have present relevance; however, in practice it is fairly freely interchanged with the other past tenses; the imperfect and perfect.

Gonda³ in his discussion over the verbal system of Sanskrit language, points that the difference between the present and the aorist stem is far from being generally carried through, beside stems characterised by one of the comparatively numerous present suffixes (-ya-, -aya-, -cha- etc) or by the aoristic -s- there are also stems which are devoid of any formal characteristic : *a- tir-a-t* functions as an imperfect because of the existence of a present indicative *tir-a-ti*, but *a-ruh-a-t* is an aorist, because there is no corresponding form with primary endings (**ruh-a-ti*).

1. Old Indian; p. 129

2. Sanskrit Manual; p. 50

3. Old Indian; p. 87

Gonda concludes that these and other unsystematic features may induce us to assume the existence, in a previous period, of a single present-aorist formation, which in course of time must have been differentiated. It is argued by some scholars that there was no functional difference between present and the aorist in *R̥gveda*, either in respect of aspect or in respect of recent and remote past¹.

Dr. Murti² pictures the position as, the difference between present and aorist is primarily semantic and not morphological. Aorist denotes simply occurrence, without any reference to time. The aorist and present are of two different types expressing two aspects of action. The present roots are expressive of process of action like going, seeing, and aorist roots are expressive of action itself like reaching, finding. So the difference between the present and aorist is not temporal but it lies only in the aspect of action. He further remarks that originally in Proto-(or Primitive)-indo-European, the aorist has nothing to do with tense, and a past sense could be expressed by means of an aorist stem only if it was supported by the augment. In *Pāṇinian* grammar the aorist has become a simple tense of past, used mainly when the actions have taken place in the immediate past.

Whitney discusses that the value of aorist is seen in the vedic language whereas in later classical sanskrit, imperfect, perfect and aorist are

1. Brugmann, Grudriss; Kurylowicz, J.; Delbruck.
2. An Introduction to Sanskrit Linguistics; p. 269

‘indiscriminated’ past tenses¹. Burrow clearly mentions that the use of aorist in later classical sanskrit “dies out”². Whitney claims that the aorist of the classical sanskrit is simply a preterit, equivalent to the imperfect and perfect, and frequently co-ordinated with them. According to him, no distinction of meaning has been established between the modes of present system and those of the perfect and aorist system.

According to Macdonell³, the aorist is of frequent occurrence in the vedas, being made from about 450 roots. It is noticed by the different scholars of Vedic and classical sanskrit that though the use of aorist is found very common in vedic sanskrit, specially in the *R̥gveda*, but the number constantly decreases in the later vedic and classical sanskrit literature. It is less frequent in *Brāhamaṇas* and *Sūtras*, epics and classical literature.

Meenakshi⁴ has discussed the following uses of aorist in *Mahaābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa* :

a) The aorist enoting the past time generally:

uttamain sabdam asrauṣaṁ tato romāṇi me, hr̥ṣaṇ
(M. 2.45.31)

‘I heard those notes (repeatedly) and my hair stood on end;

sabhāryaḥ svargam agamat tapas taptvā bṛhadrathaḥ
(M. 2.17.24)

1. Sanskrit Grammar; para 532

2. Sanskrit language

3. Vedic Grammar; p. 365

4. Epic Syntax; p. 163-164

‘Having done penance, Bṛhadratha ascended to heaven along with his wife.’

rājā trīdivam abhyagāt (R. 2.102.6)

‘The king departed to heaven’

tato maunam upāgamat (R. 6.18.20)

‘Then he became silent.’

b) The aorist denoting the past action done at a very recent time as during the course of the day or even implying the idea of continuousness.

kim nu pūrvam parājayaṣīt ātmānam ... (M. 2.60.7)

‘Whom have you lost first, yourself...

tad akārṣīt prajāgaram (M. 5.33.10)

‘that has produced sleeplessness.’

yaḥ śareṇaikaputram tvam akārṣīr aputrakam (R. 2.64.52)

(Since) with one arrow you have, rendered me sonless-me who had only one son.

c) The aorist is used with prohibitive particle *mā* with the augment *a* dropped and then the sense of potential (expressing wish, curse, etc.) and imperative :

duryodhanasya pārūṣyam tat tāta hr̥di mā kṛthāḥ (M. 2.65.10)

‘remember not the harsh words of Duryodhana’

mā bhūt sa kālo yat kaṣṭam (R. 2.85.9)

‘May the time never come when such wickedness appears in me.’

viṣādam mā kṛthā vīra (R. 6.101.27)

‘Do not grieve, O hero.’

d) The aorist is used with *mā sma* also in denoting prohibition.

mā sma śoke manah kṛthāḥ (M. 5.36.43)

‘Do not grieve’

bharataḥ kārṣṭi pretakṛtyam (R. 2.12.92)

‘Let not Bharata perform only my obsequies when my life has departed.’

e) The aorist with *mā* is not restricted to prohibition. It is occasionally used as optative.

viṣam adyaiva pāsyāmi mā vaśaṁ dvīṣatām gamam
(R. 2.30.19)

‘I shall drink poison, this very day, but would on no account, submit to the will of enemies.’

Whitney accounts the use of aorist in classical sanskrit as :

Only twenty-one times in the *Nala*, eight in the *Hitopadeśa*, seven in *Manu*, six each in the *Bhagavad-gītā* and *Śakuntalā*, and sixty-six times, from fourteen roots, in the first book, of about 2600 lines, of the *Rāmāyaṇa* :

Not only this it possesses no participle, nor any modes, except in the prohibitive use of its augmentless forms, and the preactive, while in the vedic language, the whole variety of modes belonging to the present and sometimes participles are found

According to Whitney¹ there is no distinction of meaning between the modes of the present-system and those of the perfect and aorist systems in older language. As a proper perfect it signifies

1. Sanksrit Grammar; p.328-330

something past which is viewed as completed with reference to the present. In general, it indicates what has just taken place; and oftenest something which the speaker has experienced. Thus, the aorist of the later language is simply a preterit, equivalent to the imperfect and perfect, and frequently co-ordinated with them, for example;

tataḥ sa gardabham lagudena tāḍayāmāsa; tenā, sāu pañcatvam agamat (H.) thereupon he beat the donkey with a stick; and hereof the latter died; *tataḥ sā vidarbhān agamat punaḥ; tāṁ tu bandhujanāḥ samapūjayat* (MBh.) thereupon she went back to Vidarbha; and her kindred paid her reverence; *prītmān abhūt, uvāca cār 'nam* (MBh.) he was filled with affection, and said to him; *tam adahat kāṣṭhāḥ so 'bhūd divyavapus tadā* (R.) he burned him with wood, and he became then a heavenly form.

The aorist of the older language has the value of a proper "perfect" and signifies something past which is viewed as completed with reference to the present; and it requires accordingly to be rendered by the tense made with the auxiliary have.

For example; *pārī 'mé gām aneṣata páry agnīm ahr̥ṣata, déveṣu akrata śrávaḥ ká imāñ ā dadhar̥ṣati* (RV.) "these here have led about a cow, they have carried around the fire, they have done honor to the gods—who shall venture anything against them?"

yām āichāma mānasā sò 'yām ā 'gāt (RV.) "he whom we (formerly, impf.) sought with our mind has (now, aor.) come;"

yéne 'ndro haviṣā kṛtvý ābhavad dyumy ūttamāḥ, idāñ tād akri devā asapatnāḥ kilā bhuvam (RV.) "that

libation by which *Indra*, making it, became (impf.) of highest glory, I have now made, ye gods; I have become free from enemies."

Example from the *Brāhmaṇa* language are :

sā hā 'smiñ jyóg uvāsa... tāto ha gandharvāḥ sām ūdire : jyóg vā iyam urvāṣī manuṣyēṣu avātsīt (ŚB.) "she lived with him a long time. Then the Gandharvas said to one another, "this *Urvāṣī*, forsooth, hath dwelt a long time among mortals";

īndrasya vṛtrām jaghnūṣa indriyām vīryām pṛthuvīm anu vy ārchad tād ōṣadhayo vīrúdhō 'bhavan sā tṛaiśtatim upa anavāa vṛtram me jaghnūṣa indriyām vīryam pṛthuvīm ānu vy ārat tād ōṣadhayo vīrúdhō 'bhūvann iti (TS.) of *Indra*, when he had slain *Vṛtra*, the force and might went away into the earth, and became the herbs and plants; he ran to *Prajāpati*, saying : "my force and might, after slaying *Vṛtra*, have gone away into the earth, and have become the herbs and plants";

svayām enam abhyudetya brūyād vrātya kvā 'vātsīḥ (AV., in prose passage) going up to him in person, let him say : "Vrātya, where hast thou abode"?

yād idānīm dvāū vivādamānāv eyātām ahām adarśam ahām aśrāuṣam iti yā evā brūyād ahām adarśam iti tasmā evā śrāddadhyāma (ŚB.) if now two should come disputing with one another, (the one) saying "I have seen". (the other) "I have heard", we should believe the one who said "I have seen".

This distinction of the aorist from the imperfect and perfect as tenses of narration is very common in the *Brāhmaṇa* language (including the older *Upaniṣads* and the *Sūtras*), and is closely observed; violation of it is very rare, and is to be

regarded as either due to corruption of text of indicative of a late origin.

In the Vedic hymns, the same distinction is prevalent, but is both less clear and less strictly maintained; many passages would admit an interpretation implying either sense; and evident aorist forms are sometimes used narratively, while imperfect-forms are also occasionally employed in the aorist sense.

The boundary between what has just been and what is is an evenescent one, and is sometimes overstepped, so that an aorist appears where a present might stand, or was even rather to be expected.

Thus : *svāsasthe bhavatam indave na iti somo vārāje* 'nduḥ somāyāi 'vāi 'ne etad rājña āsade 'cīklpat (AB. i. 29.7) "be ye comfortable seats for our *Indu*", he says; *Indu* is king *Soma*; by this means he has made them (instead of makes them) suitable for king *Soma* to sit upon;

vāruṇīr āpo yād adbhīr abhiṣīncāti vāruṇam evāi 'nam akar (MS. iv. 3.10) the waters are *Varuṇa's*; in that he bepours him with waters, he has made him *Varuṇa*;

pañcābhir vyāghārayati pāṅkto yajñó yāvān evā yajñās tām ālādbhā 'tho yāvān evā yajñās tasmād rākṣāṁsy āpahanti (MS. iii. 2.6.) he smears with five; fivefold is the offering; as great as is the offering, of it he has (thereby) taken hold; then, as great as is the offering, from it he smites away the demons. This idiom is met with in all the *Brāhmaṇas*; but it is especially frequent in the MS.

Gonda¹ thinks that in old Indian and prehistoric Indo-european the verbal category of mood was a means of intimating the speakers view or conception of the relation of the process expressed by the verb to reality, the main distinction being between what the speaker puts forward as fact (whether it is objectively true or not) and what he does not regard as such---a diversity of usages and idioms had come into existence, in which the use of the moods was more or less closely restricted to a particular function. Thus he thinks that some older grammars, e.g. Whitney's, do not include some paragraphs, on aspectual distinctions, is no matter of surprise². He believes that T. Burrow and Whitney are mistaken in saying that all past action is completed action, rather picture is more complicated. In the oldest texts the aorist refers too often to special cases, single detailed, isolated occurrences, is too often used in connection with processes which, though durative in nature, are viewed without regard to duration to be regarded as merely and purely temopral in character. It may state a bold fact at its psychologically most relevant moment, or indicate that a process has reached its close³, may be 'complexive' or 'recapitulative'. It can also denote isolated or momentary occurrences taking place.

1. Old Indian, p. 125, 126

2. Because the problems connected with this category did not at that time attract much attention.

3. Old Indian; p. 129

VARIETIES AND FORMS OF AORIST

The aorist is classified into two classes :

A. Non-sigmatic aorist

B. Sigmatic aorist

These two classes are formed by seven different types of stems. Macdonell¹, classifies these seven forms in three categories :

I. Simple aorist

II Reduplicated aorist

III Sigmatic aorist

Benefey² takes these seven forms under two categories

I Simple aorists

II Compound aorists

According to him, the aorist has seven forms. But most verbs are restricted to one, some of two and very few of these to three³.

Three of these seven forms are formed by personal terminations, the other four by compounding the verb with the three aorists, or the imperfect and two aorists, of the verb 'as' as 'to be'⁴

In general, it can be concluded that there are seven main varieties of aorist, three non-sigmatic and four sigmatic.

1. Vedic Grammer (1910) p. 365-385

2. Practical Grammar of Sanskrit language(1868)

3. p. 112, para 125

4. p. 112, para 126

The endings of two of non-sigmatic and one of the sigmatic aorists are thematic (i.e. precisely similar to those of the imperfect of 'nī')

The other types of aorist have athematic endings (comparable with the imperfect of athematic verbs but without the same pattern of strong and weak forms).

The seven varieties of the aorist are made by

i) adding 'a' either to simple or reduplicated roots and

ii) in case of non thematic conjugations, by adding either nothing or -s-, -iṣ-, -siṣ- to the roots.

These seven stems, therefore, are named according to their characteristics in the following way :---

A. Thematic Conjugations :

1. *a*-aorist
2. reduplicated aorist
3. *sa*-aorist

B. A-thematic Conjugations :

4. root-aorist
5. *s*-aorist
6. *iṣ*-aorist
7. *siṣ*-aorist

Dr. Ram Gopal¹ accepts the following order and names as per *aṣṭādhyāyī*'s names :

vikaraṇa lug-luṇi (root aorist)

aṇ-luṇi (*a*-aorist)

1. Vaidik Vyākaraṇa-II

caṇ-luṇ (reduplicated aorist)

anṭ-sij-luṇ (s-aorist)

seṭ-sij-luṇ (ṣ-aorist)

sak-seṭ-sij-luṇ (ṣṣ-aorist)

ksa-luṇ (sa-aorist)

According to him, about 250 roots have non-sigmatic forms, 200 roots have sigmatic forms and about 50 roots are found in different forms of aorist.

Monier Williams¹ considers it as complex and multiform tense, the most troublesome and intricate in the whole *Sanskṛt* verb, less used in classical *Sanskṛt* than the other past tenses, is not so much one tense, as an aggregation of several, all more or less allied to each other, and all bearing a manifest resemblance to the Imperfect.

According to Macdonell, the aorist is of frequent occurrence in the Vedas, made from about 450 roots. An augmented tense taking the secondary endings and forming moods and participles, it is distinguished from the imperfect by lack of a corresponding present (e.g. 3 sing. aor. *a-kar*, 3. sing. imp. *a-kṛṇot*, 3. sing. pres. *kṛṇoti*) and by difference of meaning *akar* 'he has done', *akṛṇot*, 'he did'.²

1. The **simple aorist** endings are added to the root either directly or with the connecting vowel *-a-*. It thus resembles the imperfect of the root-class or of the accented *a-* class. This type of aorist is formed by nearly 170 roots. Some nine

1. A practical grammar of the Sanskṛt language; p. 187

2. Vedic Grammar; p. 365

or ten roots have, beside the regular forms of the simple aorist, a certain number of other forms which have the appearance of indicatives present. They seem to represent a transition to the formation of a new present stem. The most striking example is the aorist stem *voca-* from which the 3. sing. *vocatī* occurs several times.

2. The **reduplicated aorist** resembles the imperfect of the reduplicating present class and is, however, distinguishable from the latter not only in meaning, but by a certain peculiarity of reduplication and by being nearly always formed with a connecting *-a-*. This type of aorist is taken by about 85 roots.

3. The **sigmatic aorist** inserts *-s-*, with or without an added *-a*, between the root and the endings. It is taken by rather more than 200 roots.

Thus each of the three types has one form following the analogy of the grander conjugation, and another following that of the *a-* conjugation. The sigmatic aorist has, however, further subdivisions.

More than 50 roots take more than one form of the aorist. One verb, *budh-* 'wake', has even forms from five varieties of the aorist; from two of the first type, e.g. *a-bodh-i* and *budha-nta*; from one of the second, e.g. *a-būbudh-a-t*; and from two of the third, e.g. *a-bhut-s-i* and *budh-i-ṣ-a-t*.

Roderick S. Bucknell¹ points out that with a few exceptions the endings of all the seven forms of aorist paradigms are constant throughout:

1. Sanskrit Manual (1994); p. 51

	Active			Middle		
3rd	-t	-tām	-an/-uḥ	-ta	-ātām	-a(n)ta
2nd	-ḥ	-tam	-ta	-thāḥ	-āthām	-dhvam
1st	-am	-va	-ma	-i	-vahi	-mahi

These endings are virtually identical with those of the imperfect:

	Active			Middle		
3rd	-t	-tām	-an	-ta	-ātām	-ata
2nd	-ḥ	-tam	-ta	-thāḥ	-āthām	-dhvam
1st	-am	-va	-ma	-i	-vahi	-mahi

The aorist further resembles the imperfect in having a prefixed a-. Though some aorist and imperfect versal forms are identical in form, but usually however, the two tenses are formally distinct;

Imperfect	Aorist	
<i>sarati</i> 'flow'	<i>asarat</i>	<i>asarat</i>
<i>sīñcati</i> 'sprinkle'	<i>asiñat</i>	<i>asīcat</i>
<i>nayati</i> 'lead'	<i>anayat</i>	<i>anaiṣīt</i>

The *a*-Aorist¹ variety

(Thematic endings; weak grade of roots)

Macdonell takes it as the form of simple aorist. This form is more frequent in AV than RV and is taken by nearly 60 roots, chiefly by such as contain a medial vowel². This form of the aorist resembles an imperfect of the *a*-class. In general, this aorist consists of a number of roots

1. 'an-lun' (A. 3.1.52-3.1.59)

2. Macdonell (p. 3¹); A. 3.1.52-3.1.59

ending in consonants like 'sic' 'as' 'vac' 'lip' 'puṣ' etc. A small number end in vowels, thus *ṛ*, *kṛ*, *sṛ*, *kyā*, *hvā*, *vyā*, *ṣvā*, *dā*, *dhā* etc.

According to Macdonell, the root generally appears in the weak form¹, the stem being made with an added '-a', which is unaugmented forms is normally accented. Middle forms are of rare occurrence in this aorist².

Some irregularities also occur in the formation of the stem; Many are simply transfers of the root-aorist to an *a*-inflection Augmentless forms of this aorist are also available, with indicative and subjunctive values, like *vidat*, *vocata*, *bhujata* etc.

Modes of a-aorist are :

Subjunctive : *arāma*, *riṣama*, *sadāma* (Pl.I; Active)

Infjunctive : *aram*, *khyam*, *darśam* (Active; Sing. I)

Optative : *āpeyam*, *gameyam* *ḍṛseyam* (AV) (Active; sing. I)

Imperative : *kara*, *bhuja*, *muca* (Active, Sing. 2)

Participles : *tr̥pant-*, *dhṛṣant*, *riṣant* or *rīṣant*.

Reduplicated Aorist³ Variety

(thematic endings; root syllable light, reduplicated syllable heavy; sense normally causative)

1. Whitney, para 846(b)
2. A. 3.1.54; Whitney, Para 848.a
3. *caṇ-luṇ* (A. 3.1.48), 'abhyāsa'.

In this variety, in great majority, stem is formed with a thematic *-a*, and a peculiar reduplication of the verb takes place.

It is generally associated with the secondary conjugation in *'aya'* (causative) but, as Macdonell perceives that it is not in form, with a few slight exceptions, connected with that stem, being made directly from the root, however, it is connected with the causative in the sense in as much as it has a causative meaning when the corresponding verb in *'aya'* has that meaning¹. It is an augmented reduplicated form, therefore it has affinities with the imperfect of the reduplicating present class and with the pluperfect, but it is distinguished from the imperfect:

(i) by the long reduplicative vowel, (ii) by the thematic *'-a'* (which nearly always appears in the stem) (iii) often by the meaning.

It is also distinguished from the pluperfect

(i) by the difference of reduplication when the root contains *'a'* or *'e'* and (ii) often by meaning. Whitney mentions its characteristic feature as 'reduplication of the radical syllable'². With regard to quantity, this aorist aims at establishing a diversity between the reduplicating and radical syllable, making the one heavy reduplication and a light root syllable, i.e. *arīṣam*, *avīrdham* etc.

It has been viewed by the scholars that 'rhythm' has been paid due attention in the reduplicative process. Though the stem of the

1. Vedic Gr. p.-373 (para-513)

2. -Para 857

most forms is made with a thematic ‘-a’ but, about a dozen roots ending in vowels have occasional forms from stems made without thematic ‘-a’¹.

Whitney claims that in the later language, a few roots are said by the grammarians to make this reduplicated aorist as a part of their primary conjugation : they are ‘*ṣri*’ and ‘*ṣvi*’, ‘*dru*’ and ‘*sru*’, ‘*kam*’ and ‘*dhā*’²

The representative modes of this variety of aorist are :

Indicative : *ajījanam*, *ajījanas*, *ajījanat* (Active; Sing)

Subjunctive : *rāradhā*, *vacā* (Active; Sing. I)

Injunctive : *cukrudham*, *jījanam*, *dīdharam* (Active, Sing. I)

Optative : *voceyaṃ*, *voce*, *voce*t (Active, Sing.)

Imperative : *vocatāt*, *vocatu* (Active; Sing)

But no participle of this reduplicated aorist has been found³. Some irregular forms of the roots like ‘*rādh*’, ‘*vyadh*’, ‘*dip*’ and ‘*mil*’ are also found as-

<i>radh</i> ›	<i>rirādh-</i>
<i>vyadh</i> ›	<i>vividha-</i>
<i>dip</i> ›	<i>didīpa-</i>
<i>mil</i> ›	<i>mimīla-</i>

1. Macdonell, p. 374

2. A. 3.1.48

3. Whitney, para 872; Macdonell p-375

sa-Aorist¹ variety

(small class; suffix s with thematic endings; weak grade)

This variety of aorist is confined to a few number of roots² ending in *ś ś* or *h* having the vowels *i u ṛ* at the penultimate. Macdonell takes it as, this form, in *Samhitās*, of the sigmatic aorist is taken by only nine roots, which end in *j, ś, ṣ* and *h* and contain the medial vowels *i, u* or *ṛ*.

The infix *-sa-* is added to the unmodified roots, and the final consonant is reduced to *k*. Thus the stems of this aorist end in *-kṣa-*. The inflection is like that of an imperfect of the *a*-class of the first conjugation of the 6th class. The augment is sometimes dropped.

Fewer moods of this aorist are noted as :

Indicative : *avṛkṣam, adhukṣas* (Active; Sing.)

Injunctive : *dukṣas, mṛkṣas, dvikṣat* (Active : sing.)

Imperative : *mṛkṣatam, yakṣatām* (Active; dual)

No optative forms are found.

B. A-THEMATIC CONJUGATIONS**The Root-Aorist³ Variety**

(Small Class : athematic endings; *parasmaipada* only)

This variety of the aorist consists of a few roots ending in *ā* and the root *bhū*. According to Macdonell, this forms is taken by 100 roots (and

1. *kṣa-luñ* (A. 3.1.45)

2. Macdonell 'nine roots'; Whitney 'nineteen' (para 919)

3. *vikaraṇa-luk-luñ*

more than 80 of these in the RV)¹. It resembles the imperfect of the 'ad'-class of the Present system. The endings are added directly to the roots because there is no infix to separate them. In later language, this formation is limited to a few roots, as indicated above, in *ā* and the root 'bhū'. The roots, ending in *ā* take 'us' and lose their *ā* before it; *bhū* retains its vowel unchanged throughout inserting 'v' after it before ending 'am' and 'an' (of 1st sing. and 3rd plural)². In RV instead of 'abhūvam', 'abhuvam' is found twice.

This form of aorist is also made from the roots ending in *r*, a few in *i*- and *u*- vowels. Roots ending in *r* take *guṇa* (throughout the indicative active except 3rd plural. Roots ending in *i* or *u* (short or long) show the same tendency. Forms are also available with loss of ending, (as *akar* etc.)

Further, this variety is available from.

i. a few roots with medial or initial vowels capable of *guṇa*- strengthening and having in general that strengthening only in sg.

ii. a number of roots with 'a' as radical vowel of which 'gam' occurs most frequently with different varieties, (as *agamam*, *agan* (2nd and 3rd sing.) *aganama*, *aganta*, *agman*.

In *ātmnepada* (middle forms), most of the forms are such which belong to the s-aorist (with omission of the *s*). We have forms with roots ending in vowels (as *adhithās*, *adhita*, *adhīmahi* etc. Forms are also available with roots ending in

1. Vedic Gram. p. 366 (para-498)

2. Whitney, p. 299

consonants, but according to Whitney, roots ending in consonants, the case in more questionable because of euphonic rule.

The available modes of this aorist are :

Subjunctive : *karāṇi, gamāni, gāni* (Active : Sing. I)

Injunctive : *karam, gām, dhām* (Active; Sing I)

Optative : *aśyājṃ, ṛdhyām, deyām* (Active; Sing I)

Imperative : *kṛdh, gadh, bodh* (Active; Sing. 2)

Participle : *ṛdhant, krant, gmant* (Active)

S-Aorist¹ Variety

(suffix s; athematic endings; *vr̥ddhi* in *parasmaipada*, *guṇa* or weak grade in *ātmanepada*)

In-this sigmatic variety of the aorist (i) the radical vowel takes '*vr̥ddhi*' in the active and in the middle (except final '*i*' and '*u*' which take *guṇa*), (ii) the radical vowel remains unchanged.

Macdonell² finds some irregularities also, as (i) in few active injunctives forms *guṇa*, appears instead of *vr̥ddhi* (e.g. *je-ṣma-*) (ii) In two or three middle forms of '*sah*' (overcome), the '*a*' is lengthened (e.g. *sāh-ṣi-*)

(iii) The root is shortened in a few middle forms; thus the '*ā*' of '*dā*' (cut) is reduced to '*i*' in sing. I optative '*di-ṣ-īya*', and the nasal of '*gam*'

1. *anṭ-sij-luñi*

2 p. 377 (para, 520)

(to go) and 'man' (to think) is dropped in the forms 'a-ga-smahī' and 'ma-sīya'.

iv) After a consonant other than *m n r*, the tense sign 's' is dropped before *t, th, and dh*; thus 'a-bhak-ta' beside 'a-bhak-ṣ-i (*bhaj*)' 'pat-thās (AV) beside *pat-s-i* (*pad-* AV); 'a- sto-dhvam' (*stu*), where the *s* on becoming *ṣ* cereberalised the following dental before disappearing.

Burrow¹ puts a point that before terminations beginning with occlusive when the root ends in such the *s* of this aorist is elided according to the usual phonetic rule : *araudh-s-ta* becomes 'arauddha' etc. According to him this leads to some confusion between this aorist and the root aorist, but this is largely eliminated in the post-vedic period by the disuse of the root aorist except in connection with very few roots. He further adds that the phonetic decay also strongly affected the 2nd and 3rd singular active, with the result that both the tense sign *s* and the terminations frequently disappear 'abhār' for 'abhār- s-t' and 'abhār-s-s', similarly *araiḥ, aśvat*, etc.

In post-vedic period, in place of these irregular forms, new formations with the connecting vowel *-ī-* (*anaīṣīt, acchaitṣīt*, etc.) have taken place.

The following modes of the *s*-aorist are found in the literature:

Indicative : *abhārṣam, abhār, abhārṣīt* (Active)

Subjunctive : *stoṣāmi, darṣasi, jeṣas* (Active)

1. p. 337

Injunctive : Jeṣam, yūṣam, staṣam (Active; Sing)

Optative : dīṣīya, bhakṣīya, masīya (Sing' t)

Imperative : sāksva (Middle, sing. 2)

Participle : dākṣant, dhākṣant.

Iṣ-Aorist¹ variety

(suffix *iṣ*; athematic endings; *vr̥ddhi* or *guṇa* in *parasmaipada*, *guṇa* in *ātmanepada*)

In this variety of *luṇ* or aorist the suffix 's' is added with connecting 'i' the basic grade is *guṇa*, but in the *parasmaipada* final *ī ū ṛ* are strengthened to *vr̥ddhi* and medial 'a', sometimes strengthened to *ā*. According to Macdonell, no roots with final *ā* and *ī* take this aorist.

In old language this form is noted from about 150 roots. Roots are of almost all varieties. According to Whitney² no rule appears to govern the choice of usage between the *iṣ*- and *s-aorist*, and in small number of cases the same root shows forms of both classes. Some irregularities are also found, as 'nudiṣṭhās (in AV) without *guṇa*, *avadhīm* (with augmentless *vādhim*) in 1st sing. active. According to Macdonell, this is the only aorist from which a few forms are made in the secondary conjugations.

According to Burrow³, several different but closely related types of formations have come to be associated with the *iṣ*- aorist:

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1. *seṭ-sij-luṇ*
 2. p. 322, (para 903 (a))
 3. Page 339

(1) The suffix *-īṣ-* (as opposed to *-iṣ-* with short *-i-*) is used in the case of the root *grabh-* (to seize) : *agrabhīṣma*.

(2) Non-sigmatic formations in *-ī-* appear : *agrabhīm*, *avadhīm*, *agrhitām*, *agrhitās*. The normal 2nd and 3rd sg. of the *iṣ* aorist is adapted from this formation, since *-iṣ-s* and *-iṣ-t* cannot phonetically produce *-īs* and *-īt*

(3) Some preterite stems in short *-i-* have been incorporated in this aorist : *atārima*, *avādīran*, *bādhītās*, *avīta*, etc.

This aorist represents all the moods except participial forms. The moods available are :

Indicative : *akramīṣam*, *akramīs*, *akramīt* (Active, Sing)

Subjunctive : *daviṣāṇi*, *aviṣas*, *kāriṣat* (Active)

Infjunctive : *śamsiṣam*, *himsiṣam* (Active, Sing. I)

Optative : *edhiṣīya*, *gmiṣīya*, *janiṣīya* (Active, middle Sing)

Imperative : *Aviddhi*, *aviṣtu* (Sing.)

Siṣ-Aorist¹ Variety

(Small Class : suffix '*siṣ*'; athematic endings; *parasmaipada* only)

This variety of aorist is formed from only a very limited number of roots ending in *-ā* and roots '*nam*' (to bow), '*yam*' (to hold) and '*ram*'² (to take pleasure). It is inflected like the '*iṣ-* aorist'.

1. *sak-seṭ-sij-luṇi*

2. A. 7.2.93

According to Burrow¹ an innovation of Indo-Aryan. Whitney² considers it as only a sub-form of the *ṣ*-aorist, having the tense-sign and endings of the latter added to a form of root increased by an added 's'.

Augmentless forms are also available, i.e. *jñāsiṣam*, *raṁsiṣam*, *hāsiṣta* etc.

Modes of *siṣ*-aorist occur as :

Indicative : *ayāsiṣam* (Sing. I)

Subjunctive : *gāsiṣat* (Sing. 3)

Optative : *vaṁsiṣīya* (Sing. I)

Injunctive : *raṁsiṣam* (Sing. I)

Imperative : *yāsiṣtam* (Dual 2)

1. p. 39

2. p. 324, (para 92)

Chapter-II

A) Pāṇini's Process of Derivation

B) Explanation of Sūtras for the Derivation of Luṅ Lakāra

A. PĀṆINI'S PROCESS OF DERIVATION

Pāṇini's grammar¹, known as *AṢṬĀDHĀYĪ*² is considered as the description of a language 'current in his time'³ and place , aproximately 500 B.C. The language described in this *sūtra* text (*aṣṭādhyāyī*) is SANSKRIT.⁴ Cardona (1988) considers that "though *Paṇini's aṣṭādhyāyī* is not the first grammatical treaties on Sanskrit, as he had refered number of his predecessors in the field of grammar, but it is the earliest complete treaties of its kind to have been preserved."

Kāśikāvṛtti, the most commonly used commentary on the *aṣṭādhyāyī*, gives for 3983 *sūtras* of *aṣṭādhyāyī* which are divided or distributed in eight chapters (*aṣṭa-adhyāyās*), each of which again is subdivided into four *pādas*(quarter chapter) as—

1. *Śabdānuśāsanam* (*Mahābhāṣyakāra Patañjali*)
2. A set of staments, called as *Sūtra*
3. George Cardona (1988) p.1.
4. *Patañjali* calls it the language of the *śiṣṭa*, the elite and model speakers

I.	(1) 75	(2) 73	(3) 93	(4) 110= (351)
II	(1) 72	(2) 38	(3) 73	(4) 85= (268)
III.	(1) 150	(2) 188	(3) 176	(4) 117= (631)
IV.	(1) 178	(2) 145	(3) 168	(4) 144= (635)
V.	(1) 136	(2) 140	(3) 119	(4) 160= (555)
VI	(1) 223	(2) 199	(3) 139	(4) 175= (736)
VII.	(1) 103	(2) 118	(3) 120	(4) 97= (438)
VIII.	(1) 74	(2) 108	(3) 119	(4) 68= (369)

There are different kinds of *sūtras* and there by serve different purpose. The major division is seen as: a) opertional Rules (*Vidhi-Sūtras*) and b) ancillary Rules Ancillary or interpretational Rules or *Sūtras*) serve to give the required interpretation and application of other rules. These are of mainly three types---

- i. *saṃjñā Sūtras* (technical rules)
- ii. *adhikāra Sūtras* (Headings)
- iii. *paribhāṣā Sūtras* (meta rules)

In addition to these there are---

1. *niyama sūtra* (restrictive rules) which restricts what would otherwise obtain too broadly.

2. *Pratiśedha* or *niśedha sūtra* (negation Rules) which disallows something which would have otherwise applied.

In fact, categorisation is based on nature, scope and application of the rules and thereby *Pāṇini's* system of describing the Sanskrit Language, is in fact, his DERIVATIONAL SYSTEM which includes the following procedures¹:-

1. In the *Pāṇini's* terminology, steps of derivational system

a) affixes are added to given items.¹

b) augments are introduced to elements.²

c) One element replaces the other other element.³

d) an element is doubled

e) instead of a group of elements, a single remainder of the group is allowed to occur.

f) items are combined to form compound.

As said above, operation of the rules is assisted by the interpretational rules: i) *Samjñā* rules ii) *adhikāra* rules and iii) *Paribhāṣā* rules.

Samjñā rules (or technical rules), in general, assign a name to 'linguistic element or its meaning'⁴ by which proper perception of those objects and function may be attained. The object, which is assigned a term is known as *Samjñī*. *Jijñāsu*, Pt. *Brahm Dutt*⁵ accounts for eighty four *Samjñā Sūtras* in the *aṣṭādhyāyī*. These are classified in three major categories as:---

i) *śabdasmjñā*: It assigns a *samjñā* to a linguistic term.

ii) *arthasmjñā*: It assigns a *samjñā* to the meaning of a linguistic term, like *vibhāṣā*, *lopa* etc.

in general, are:--- 1. *Pratyaya* 2. *āgama* 3. *ādeśa* 4. *Vikāra* 5. *lopa*

1. *Pratayah* (3.1.1) *paraśca* (3.1.2)---*dhātoḥ* (3.1.7) with ref. to verbal derivational process.

2. *āgama*; it may be insterted to the right as or the side of the root These are of two types *Vikaraṇas* and *āgamas*

3. *ādeśa*, in general is marked by nominative case in the rule.

4. RN Sharma (1987) p.102

5 The TEMOLAT Sanskrit (1982)

iii) *dharmasaṃjñā*: It assigns *saṃjñā* to the quality of a sound segment.

Majority of the *saṃjñā sūtras* have been described in the first book of *aṣṭādhyāyī*.

Paribhāṣā Sūtrās (or meta rules) are interpretative rules to provide a check on the operational rules with reference to *ativyāpti* (over application) or *avyāpti* (under application) and also *asambhava* (impossible application).

In otherwords these rules assist operational rules to identify their domain of application. Commentor *Patañjali*¹ compares these rules with a lamp, which though fixed in one place, illuminates the entire room. *Pt. Braham Dutt Jijñāsu* explains these as to 'give a ruling to remove conflict'.

The highest derivate of Pāṇinian system of derivation is the *PADA*, which is a syntactic unit, and is of two types of endings---

- a) *sup* affixes² and
- b) *tin* affixes.³

In this derivative system the input is base (*Prakṛti*) which is of two types: i. Verb-root (*dhātu*) and ii. nominal stem (*prātipadikam*)⁴ and affixes are, then, manipulated to derive the *Padās*.

1. *Mahābhāṣyakāra*

2. *Su-au-jas*.....

3. *tip-tas-jhi*.....

4. *dhātus* and *prātipadikas* are also of two types: i. basic ii. derived. Basic roots are enumerated in *dhātupāṭh* of *pāṇini* and derived are constructed with *san pratyaya* (*sanādvanta dhātavaḥ* 3.1.32)

Sharma, Rama Nath (1987) gives the 'following schema' to show the types of forms derivable in *Pāṇini*:

- i) *prātīpadika + sup*
- ii) *prātīpadika + strīpratyaya + sup*
- iii) *prātīpadika + taddhita + strīpratyaya + sup*
- iv) *prātīpadika + taddhita + sup*
- v) *dhātu + tñ*
- vi) *dhātu + taddhita + sup*
- vii) *dhātu + taddhita + strīpratyaya + sup*.

Pāṇinian derivation then starts with a nominal stem or a verbal root as its base input and terminates with the derivation of a word.¹

In the context of verbal derivational system rules are applied to characterise the verbs by i) Person ii) number iii) voice iv) aspect or type of action v) reduplication vi) augment vii) personal endings viii) tenses ix) moods.

In the discussion on the purpose of grammar, *Mahābhāṣya-Kāra* considers the purpose as the description of correct or incorrect words,² and to achieve this purpose *Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyā* follows a specific order of the different rules which has interlocking system. The first basic simple convention assumed by *Pāṇini*, as it seems, is that exceptional rules (*apavāda sūtras*) precludes the application of general rules (*sāmānya* or *utsarga*

1. S.D. Joshi (1968) views that rules of *Pāṇini* primary apply with respect to *padās* alone to derive *padas* in the context of utterances.

2. *Śabdāhaśahdas*

sutrās)¹ in general. At some places the order has been reversed also.

According to pāṇinian grammarians, heirarchy of rules may be as, “*para nityāntaranāpavādānām ullarattaram balyaḥ*,” that in the linear order of the rules, the claim of application of the subsequent rules is stronger, and then the obligatory rules. In many cases principle of *Pūrva Vipratishedhaḥ* followed, that is, the preceding rules precludes the following rules. *Patañjali* thinks that the *para* of *para-prati-ṣedhaḥ*² refers to the desired correct form

In other words the right step of grammatical operations. In fact the categories of the *sūtras* like, *para*, *nitya*, *antaraṇa* and *apavāda* get precedence over the other according to the sequence of their enumeration. *Pāṇini* himself in his three important rules:

Pūrvatrāsiddham (8.2.1) *asiddhavadātrabhāt* (6.4.22) *ṇatvatu korasiddhaḥ* (6.1.86) has refereed the principles to facilitate formation of words in certain cases. On the otherhand, scope of the expression like-*pūrvatrāsiddham* (8.2.1) does not cover the technical or metalinguistic rules, otherwise it would have been difficult to get the function etc. of a number of *sūtras* of the *aṣṭādhyāyī* without the help of operative rules like: *tasmādityuttarasya* (1.1.67); *ṣaṣṭhī sthāneyogaḥ* (1.1.49) and *tasminnuti nirdiṣṭe pūrvasya* (1.1.66).

Thus, the whole question of the *aṣṭādhyāyī* is to derive the desired form of the words by

1. K.R. Tripathi (1991) P.12
2. *vipratishedhe param kāryam* (1.4.2)-“In two equally forceful rules, the later becomes applicable.”

following the different rules of *Pāṇini's aṣṭādhyāyī* that, perhaps, is the reason that most of the scholars¹ consider *paṇini's aṣṭādhyāyī* as the 'descriptive grammar.'² not 'prescriptive to derive forms with correct usage.'³ Al-George perceives *aṣṭādhyāyī-sūtras* as *lakṣaṇa* (Characteristic) which serve to explain by derivation, the forms of correct usage.⁴ Basics to this derivational system are: base (*prakṛti*) and affixes (*pratyaya*) which reproduce, under given conditions, words called *pada*.⁵ Formula, thus in general is considered as:

base—*pada*—affix (and conditions)

The bases themselves are of two types: verbal roots (*dhātu*) and nominal (*prātipadika*). Bases may be primitive or derived. George Cardona.⁶ remarks that 'the conditions under which affixes are introduced are of the following types.

Some rules state meanings as conditions:

affix A is introduced after item I when meaning M is to be denoted.⁷

Some rules state cooccurrence condition:

affix A is introduced after item I if item J occurs.⁸

1. Wackernāgel (1896).

2. Stall J.F.,(1965) quoted by George Cardona (1980;Indian Reprint).

3. Chāru Dev Śāstri.

4. These are called *Lakṣya* (that which is to be)

5. *Sup-tiñāntam padam* (1.4.14) a nominal and verbal ending-item is called *pada*."

6. *PĀṆINI: A survey of Research* (1980)p.183

7. as, 3.4.69 (*laḥ karmaṇi ca bhāve cākarmakebhyaḥ.*)

8. as 2.3.31 (*enapā dvitīyā*)

Some rules state a combination of these conditions:

A is introduced after I if M is to be denoted and J occurs.¹

Some rule, in addition, introduce affixes without giving any condition. Such affixes are said to be introduced redundantly,² the meaning denoted by the derivate is the same as that of denoted by the item to which the affix is added

(The *padas* which are derived by affixation to base are subject to morphophonemics.)

An other important aspect of *aṣṭāhyāyī* is the Rule Ordering. The following points can be referred:

1. Rules of *aṣṭāhyāyī's tripāḍi* the final three quarter chapters i.e. part 2, 3, 4 of chapter VIII) are ordered extrinsically. Cardona³ notes that 'not only do these rules not supply operands for rules of the preceding sections, but within the *tripāḍi* a rule R+1 is treated as non-existent (*asiddha*) with respect to preceding (*pūrvatra*) rule R; it does not supply operands for the later.

2. the group of *sūtras* 1.4.3 to 2.2.38 are also extrinsically ordered. These rules are headed by 1.4.1 (*ā kaḍārādekā saṃjñā*). Rule 1.4.2 (*vipratīṣedha param kāryam*) provides that if two rules (or more) this section come into conflict the subsequent operation takes effect preferentially.

1. as 3.2.118 (*laṭ sme*)

2. meaning of itself (*svārtha*) [to which an affix is added]

3. p.189

3. In other remaining part the external order of rules is not pertinent to their application, rather proper rules are selected from other parts and applied to have correct derivatives. In other words, a given rule can require for its interpretation, information available only from rules stated later or earlier. In fact the key question is of 'proper context' for a particular rule to apply properly.

Moreover, *Paṇini* has used a good number of technical terms, classified by scholars as---

a) General, as *ādeśa* (Substitute), *sthānin* (substituend), *vacana* (number in general).¹

b) Phonological Terminology, like *āśya-prayatna* (effort in the mouth), *mukha-nāsikā-vacana* (pronounced by mouth & nose, together), *samprasāraṇa* (letter-i u ṛ lṛ), *udatta* (high-pitched vowels) *anudatta* (low-pitched vowels) and *svarita* (combination of low and high pitch).

c) Verbal Terminology, like *kriyā* (action), *bhāva* (becoming), *dhātū* (verbal base) *L*-suffixes like *laṭ*, *liṭ* etc., *sārva-dhātuka* (having to do with whole root), *ārdhadhātuka* (having to do with a half root).

d) Terminology for nominal system, like *sarvanāman* 'pronominal' *nadī* 'river' for a class, *samānādhikaraṇam* etc.

In the same way, *Pāṇini* uses some markers.²

1. It is argued that *Pāṇini* has not used *vacana* strictly in the sense of 'number'
2. He calls it as 'it'. These are not the part of linguistic items and are unconditionally deleted. In *aṣṭādhyāyī*, these markers have specific function.

B. EXPLANATION OF SŪTRAS FOR DERIVATION OF LUṆ LAKĀRA

In the previous section, we introduced the machinery that *pāṇini* uses for stating the rules of his grammar. The above discussion is absolutely essential for understanding and correct interpretation of the *sūtras* of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.

Now we come to our main topic, i.e. the derivation of the *luṅ* 'Aorist' forms of the sanskrit language.

Rules for the derivational process of AORIST:---

Aorist (*luṅ*) is the *ārdhadhātuka* tense. No conjugational signs are therefore added to it. In general, the roots are divided into three classes:---

- i) *SEṬ*, which literally means with *it>i*.
- ii) *ANITṬ*, literally means without *it>i*.
- iii) *WEṬ*, which means either with or without *it(>i)*.

In *luṅ lakāra*, *SEṬ* roots take *ṛ* before all the terminations of the non-conjugational tenses and moods, which begin with any consonant except *ya*.

WEṬ roots admit *it* optionally and *ANITṬ* roots do not admit *it*.

Aorist, being the past tense, the secondary endings are used to show it, and stem is made in seven different manners.

Sūtras Pertaining to the Derivation of the **luṇ** forms.

The L-suffix *luṇ* is introduced on condition that an action is referred to the past:

Luṇ (3.2.110).¹

‘The L-Suffix *luṇ* is introduced after a root if the action denoted by it refers to the past’.

Since the affix is *ṇit*, the *i* of an ending *ti, mi, si*, etc. is deleted by the rule 3.4.100.² Further the suffix *ch* is brought after the root followed by the ending which derives from *luṇ*. It is again replaced by other affixes as the different rules follow:---

Cleḥ Sic (3.1.44)

The *Sic* is substituted for *Ch*

The *i* of *Sic* is for the sake of pronunciation, the *C* is for accent. The affix, therefore is *s*, as in *akārṣīt* (he did). According to *Vārttikakāra*³ the substitution of *Sic* is optional in the Aorist of the roots *spṛṣ* (to touch), *mṛṣ* (to rub) *Kṛṣ* (to plough) *tṛp* (to become) satisfied and *dṛp* (to light). Thus these roots have optional forms, as

spṛṣ > *asprākṣīt*, *aspārḥṣīt* or *asprkṣat*.

Śala igupadhādanitah Ksaḥ (3.1.45)[*cleḥ luṇi*]

-
1. ‘*bhūte*’ (in the past) (3.2.84)
 2. *itaśca* [*nityam ṇitah* (3.2.99); *lopaḥ* (3.2.97)] Zero also obligatorily replaces the *i* of an ending which derives from an L-suffix marked with *ṇ*. Cardona (1980) p.339.
 3. *spṛṣ-mṛṣ- kṛṣ-tṛp-dṛpām sjuvā vaktavyaḥ*.

After a verb that ends in a *śa* consonant, and has an *ik* vowel for its penultimate letter, and does not take *u*,¹ *ksa*² is the substitute of *Cl*.

As *mṛś*

Three conditions are mentioned in this *sūtra* for the application of affix *Ksa*:

i) Verb should end in *śala* consonant (*ś* *ṣ* *s* and *h*) because otherwise form will be *abhartsīt* with *Sic*

ii) Verb should have its penultimate *ik* [*i u ṛ ly* letters] otherwise form will be *adhākṣīt*

iii) Verb does not take *u*, Vasu, S.C. points out, Observe. *akoṣīt* and *amoṣīt*.

śliṣa āliṇane (3.1.46) [*cleḥ ksaḥ*]

ksa substitutes *Cl* after the verb *śliṣ* when it is employed in the sense embracing.

This is restrictive *sūtra*.

na dṛśaḥ (3.1.47) [*cleḥ ksaḥ*]

ksa is not a substitute of *Cl* after the verb *dṛś* (to see). This is an exception to the *sūtra* 3.1.45-*śala igupadhā danītaḥ Ksa*. The verb *dṛś* takes Aorist from 3.1.57 "*irito vā*" (*cleḥ aṇ*)---*aṇ* and *sic*; as *adarśat* or *adrākṣit* (he saw)

1. *Ekāc upadeś anudātta* (7.2.10)

2. The *a* of *ksa* is elicited when followed by an *ajādi* affix by the *sūtra*; *Ksasyāci* (7.3.72), the *a* of *Ksa* is elided when followed by an *ajādi* affix. Thus we have,
diś+t>a+diś+sa+t=adīkṣat

diś+an>a diś+s+an= adīkṣan (ksayāci).

ś is replaced by *ṣ* by the rule—*Vṛaśca-bhrasja-sṛja-mṛja-yajā rāja-bhrājac-chaśām ṣaḥ* (8.2.36) *Ṣ* by *K* by rule-*ṣaḥhoḥ Kaḥ si* (8.2.41)

ṇi-śri-dru-śrubhyaḥ kartari caṇ (3.1.48) [Cleş luṇi].

After a root which ends in *ṇi*¹ and after the verb *śri* (to serve), *dru* (to run) and *sru* (to drop) *caṇ* substitutes *ch* when *luṇi* follows signifying an agent.

ṇ of *caṇ* prevents the *guṇa* and *ṽddhu* and *c* is to distinguish it from the affix *aṇ*

Reduplication takes place, when *caṇ* is added to the root,² and then usual terminations are employed; as *acīkarat* (he caused to make); *aśiśriyat* (he served), *adudruvat* (he ran), *asusrut* (it flowed).

Vārtikarkāra adds the root *kam* (to love) to this *sūtra*; thus *acakamat* (he loved) and *acīkamat* when it takes *ṇi*.³

vibhāṣā dheṣṭvyoh (3.1.49) [Cleş *caṇ kartari luṇi*]

caṇ optionally Substitutes *Ch* after the roots *dhe* (to suck) and *śvi* (to grow) when *luṇi* follows signifying an agent, as *adadhat* (he sucked) and in alternative form, *adhāt* or *adhāsīt* (he Sucked)⁴.

So also of *śvi*, we get *aśiśvayat* (he grew). It also takes *aṇ*⁵ and then form is *aśvat* or *aśvayīt*.

1 A.3.1.20,21,44

2. *caṇi*(6 1.11) of a non-reduplicated root there is reduplication when the affix when the affix *caṇ* of the Aorist follows.'

3 A3.1.30 *kamernṇi*.

4. when it takes alternative *sc*, then rule A 2.4.78 (*vibhāṣā ghrā-dheṣṭ-Śā- chāsah*) comes into operation, i.e. After the roots *ghrā*, *dheṣṭ*, *śā*, *chā* (*cho*) and *Sā* (*So*) there is optionally the elision of *sc*, when *parasmaipada* terminations are employed.

5. By A.3.1.58.

gupeśchandasi (3.1.50) [*cleḥ cañ vīhhāṣā kartari luñi*]

cañ is optionally Substituted for *ch* after the verb *gup* (to protect) in the *chandas*,¹ as *ajugupat* or *agauptam* etc.

nonayatidhvanayatyalatyardayatibhyaḥ
(3.1.51) [*cleḥ cañi chandasi*]

After the causatives of the verbs *ūna* (to decrease) *dhvan* (to sound) *śla* (to send) and *ard* (to go or to beg) *cañ* is not the substitute of *ch* in the *chandas*. Thus we have *ūnayīḥ* in the vedas while *auninat* in the classical literature.

Añ-Aorist

asytivaktikhyātibhyo-añ (3.1.52) [*cleḥ kartari luñi*]

añ is the substitute of *ch*, when *luñ* follows signifying the agent, after the verbs *as* (to throw) *vac*² (to speak), and *khyā*³ (to speak). The root *as* is of fourth conjugation & the root falls under the sub-division of *puṣādi*, and therefore it would have taken *añ* in the *parasmaipada* by the rule *puṣādidyutṛadylditaḥ parasmaipadeṣu* (3.1.55)

The special indication therefore, indicates that it takes *añ* in the *Ātmanepada* also.

-
1. This rule applies where the root *gup* does not take the affix *āya* by A.3.1.28.
 2. *Vac* may be either the root or substitute of *brū*; *bruvo vaci*(2.4.53)
 3. *Khyā* may be the root or the substitute of *cakṣ*; *cakṣiṇaḥ kyañ*(2.4.54)

Thus, *pari+as* > *paryāsthat*;¹ *vac* > *avocat*,²
khyā > *ākhyat*³

lipisicihvaśca (3.1.53) [*cleḥ aṇi kartari luṇi*]

aṇi is the substitute of *ch*, when *luṇi* follows signifying the agent, after the verbs *lip* (to paint), *sic* (to sprinkle) and *hve* (to call).

Thus *lipa* > *lipat*;

sic > *asicat*; and *hre* > *āhvat*.

These roots have optional forms with *aṇi* in *ātmanepada* by the rule *ātmanepadeṣvanyatarsyām* (3.1.54).

thus, we have *lip* > *alipat* or *alīpta*; *sic* > *asicata* or *asikta* and *hve* > *āhvat* or *ahvāsta*.

puṣādidyutādylṛditaḥ parasmaipadeṣu (3.1.55)
 (*cleḥ aṇi*)

aṇi is the substitute of *ch*, after the verb *puṣ*⁴ (to nourish), and rest, *dyut*⁵ (to shine) and the rest, and the verbs having an indicatory *lṛ* when the affixes of the *parasmaipada* follow.

-
1. The stem *as* gets the augment *thuk* before *aṇi* (*asyatesthuk*)(7.4.17)
 2. The root *vac* takes the augment *um* followed by *aṇi* by the *Sūtra Vacaruma* (7.4.20)
 3. These roots are specifically mentioned with their *anubhandhas*, other similar roots are, therefore not covered by this rule.
 4. *puṣādi*, the verbs classed as, are a subdivision of the fourth conjugational verbs (*Divādigaṇa*)
 5. *dyutādi*, belong to the Ist conjugation (*bhvādigaṇa*)

Thus we get *puṣ>apuṣat*; *dyut>adyutat*; *gamlṛ>*¹ *agamat*

dyut takes *parasmaipadī* affixes optionally for *luñ* by *sūtra-dyutbhyoḥ luñi* (1.3.91)

sartiśāstyartibhyaśca² (3.1.56) [*cleḥ aṇ*]

aṇ substitutes *cli* is *parasmaipada* as well in *Ātmanepada* after the words *sṛ* (to go), *śās* (to order) and *ṛ* (to go). This *Sūtra* is separately enunciated in order to make the rule applicable to *Ātmanepada* also.

Thus, *sṛ>asarat*; *śas>aśiṣat*; *ṛ>ārat*.

irito vā (3.1.57) (*cleḥ aṇ*)

aṇ is optionally substituted for *cli* after the roots which have an indicative *ir*, when the *parasmaipada* terminations are employed, as *bhidir* (to divide)

Thus *bhidir* (>*bhid*)>*abhidat* or *abhartsīt*. and we have *abhiit* in the *ātmanepada*.

Jṛ-stambhu-mrucu-mlucu-grucu-gluñcu-śvibhyaś ca (3.1.58)[*cleḥ aṇ vā*].

aṇ is optionally substituted for *cli* after the verb *jṛ*, (to grow), *Stambhu* (to stiffen) *mrucu* and *mlucu* (to go), *grucu* and *glucu* (to steel), *gluñcu* (to

1. Root *ad* is replaced by *ghasṛ* for *luñ* by the rule *luñ-sanorghasṛ* (2.4.37).

Thus we have, *aghasat*. Again, *patlṛ* (*gatau*), the augment *pum* is added followed by *aṇ* by the rule *pataḥ pum* (7.4.19) Being *mit* it is added immediately after the last vowel (*mudaco antyāt paraḥ*), thus *apatat*.

2. The *ca* in the *sūtra* is to draw the *anuvṛtti* of the phrase 'parasmaipada' of the preceding *sūtra*.

go) and *śvi*¹ (to grow), when the terminations of the *parasmaipada* are employed.

Therefore, we have,

jṛ > *ajarat* or (*ajārīt*); *stambhu* > *astambhat* (or *astambhīt*); *mrucu* > *amrucat* (or *amrocīt*); *mlucu* > *amlucat* (or *amlocīt*); *grucu* > *agrucat* (or *aglocīt*) *gluñcu* > *aglañcat* (or *agloñcīt*); *śvi* > *aśaśvat* (or *aśvayit* or *aśiśvīyat*).

kr-mṛ-dṛ-ruhidhyaḥ chandasi (3.1.59) [*cleḥ aṇ*]

aṇ is the substitute of *ch*, when used in the *chandas* after the verbs *kr* (to do), *mṛ* (to die) and *dṛ* (to tear) and *ruh* (to rise).

So we get *kr* > *akarat*; *mṛ* > *amarat*; *dṛ* > *adarat* and *ruh* > *āruhat*.² According to Pāṇini, this is the position in *Chandas* (*Vedaḥ*) but in classical literature aorist of these verbs are as:

kr > *akārṣīt*; *mṛ* > *amṛt*; *dṛ* > *adārīt* and *ruh* > *aruhāt*.

cin te padaḥ (3.1.60) [*cleḥ*]

*cin*³ is the substitute of *ch* after the verb *pad* (to go), when the affix 'ta' follows.

The affix *ta* here means to third person singular tense-affix of the *ātmanepada*, as *apādi*.⁴

1. *śvayateraḥ* (7.4: *i* of *śvi* becomes *a* when followed by *aṇ*)
2. Ṛg. Veda x.85.17 *clam tebhyo karam namaḥ*. x.44 6 *nā ye śekur yogñīyam nāvam āruham* (Vasu, S C., p.372)
3. Here *ṇ* is for *vṛddhi* and *C* for *swara*.
4. *aṭ+pad+cin+ta=a+pad+i=apādi*. The personal ending *ta* is elided by the rule A. VI. 4.104; *cin*o *luk* (*pratyayasya*). Vasu, S.C. take the note of the point that here the elision of personal affix *ta* of the aorist being considered as *asiddha*, the affixes *tarap* and *tamap* are not elided:

But not so in the dual and plural; as-*apasātām* and *apatsat*.

dīpa-jana-budha-pūri-tāyī-pyāyibhyaḥ-anyatar asyāma (3.1.61) [*cleḥ ciṇ te*]

ciṇa is optionally substituted of *ch*, when *ta*, the third person singular of the *Ātmanepada* follows, after the verbs *dīp* (to shine); *jan* (to be produced); *budh* (to teach or know); *pūr* (to be full), *tāy* (to extend or project) and *pyāy* (to smell).

Thus the forms available are, *dīp* > *adīpi* or *adīpiṣṭa*; *jan* > *ajani* or *ajanīṣṭ*; *budh* > *aduddh* or *abodhi*; *pur* > *apūri* or *apūriṣṭa*; *tāy* > *atāyi* or *atāyiṣṭa*; *pyāy* > *apāyi* or *apyāyiṣṭa*.

acaḥ karmakartari (3.1.62) [*cleḥ te ciṇ*]

ciṇ is optionally the substitute of *ch* when *ta* third person singular of *Ātmanepada* follows, after a root which ends with a vowel, and when the object its self is spoken of as the agent.

According to explanation given by Vasu, S.C., this is an optional rule (*prāpta vibhāṣā*). Therefore we have, *kṛ* > *akṛta* or *akāri*.

But in verbs other than those that end in vowels, the *ciṇa* is obligatory in reflective voice.¹

duhaśca (3.1.63) [*cleḥ ciṇ anyatarasyāma karmakartari*].

though of the *sūtra* were to be literally interpreted, every affix after the *ciṇ*, ought to be elided or the word *knūti* is understood here, so that *kit nūt* and affix of *ciṇ* are elided and not every affix.

1. A reflexive verb is one in which the object is spoken of as the agent.

Ciṇ is, optionally, the substitute of *Ch* after to verb *duh* (to milk), when it is used reflexively.¹ and when *ta* follows. Thus we have, *auh* > *dohi* or *adugdh*.

***na rudah*(3.1.64) [*cleḥ ciṇ karm-kartari*]**

ciṇ is not substituted for *ch* after the verb *rudh* (to obstruct) when used reflexively, and when the sense is that of third person singular of the *Ātmanepada*.

Thus we have, *rudh* > *āruddha*.

Inverbs other than reflexive, *ciṇ* is employed. i.e. *ārodhi*.

***tapah-anutāpe ca* (3.1.65) [*na cleḥ ciṇ karma-kartari*].**

Ciṇ is not substituted for *Ch* after the verb *tap* (to suffer), when used reflexively, and when the sense is that of experiencing remorse.²

***ciṇ bhāvakarmanoh* (3.1.66) [*cleḥ ciṇ te*]**

*ciṇ*³ is the substitute of *cli* when *ta* of third person singular *Ātmanepada* follows, denoting the action⁴ or the object.⁵

***sici vṛddhi parasmaipadeṣu* (7.2.1)**

1. In verbs other than reflexives, the *ciṇ* is compulsory
2. Vasu, S.C, notes that this prohibition applies even to the the passive and impersonal voices of the verb *tap*; i.e. *atapta*.
3. According to Vasu, S.C., the repetition of *ciṇ*, is for the sake of distinctness.
4. A verb is said to denote an action when it is used impersonally.
5. It is said to denote an object in the passive sense.

The final *ṛ*, *u*, *ṛ* (*ṛk*) of a root-base is lengthened in the *parasmaipada* before *sic*, thus we have,

śri > *aśrāyīt*, in *ātmanepada* *aśrayiṣṭa*.

ato lrāntasya (7.2.2)

The penultimate *hrasva* (short) *a* of roots ending in *r* or *l* is lengthened before *sic* in the *parasmaipada*, as,

kṣar > *akṣārīt*; *jval* > *ajvālīt*.

vadavrajahalantasyācaḥ (7.2.3)

The penultimate of *a* of *vad* and *vraj* and of a ovel in a root-base ending in a consonant is lengthened before *sic* in the *parasmaipada*, so we have,

vad > *avādīt*; *vraj* > *avrājīt* and *bhīdir* > *abhaītsīt*.

neti (7.2.4)

The vowel in a root-base ending in consonant is not lengthened when *sic* takes the augment *it*. There is a *guṇa* replacement, like

citi > *acetīt*; *divu* > *adevīt*.

ato halāderlaghoḥ. (7.2.7)

The short *a* in a root-base beginning with a consonant is optionally lengthened before *sic* in the *parasmaipad* when the augment *it* is allowed. So we have,

gad > *agādīt* or *agadīt*.

h-m-y-ant-kṣaṇaśvasajāgrṇiśveyeditām (7.2.5)

The root-bases ending in *h-m-y*, the roots *kṣaṇ*, *śvas*, *jāgr*, a stem formed with *ṇi*, the root *śvi* and the roots having an indicative *e* in the *dhātu-paṭh* do not allow *vṛddhi* of the vowel before

sic in the *parasmaipada* when the augment *iṭ* is allowed.

Thus we have *grah* > *agrahīt*.

The augment *iṭ* is lengthened after *grah* before a *valādi ārdhadhātuka* affix except *Liṭ* affixes by *sūtra*, *graho aliti dīrghaḥ* (7.2.37), -*agrahīṣṭām*

ṭuvam > *avamīt*, *avamīṣṭām*

vyay > *avyīt*; *kṣaṇu* > *akṣaṇīt*; *śvas* > *aśvasīt* and *jagr* > *ajāgarīt*.

ūrṇotervibhāṣa (7.2.6)

The vowel in the root *ūrṇu* is lengthened optionally before *sic* in the *parasmaipada* with the augment *iṭ* following.¹

Thus we have, *urṇu* > *aurṇāvīt*.

stu-su-dhūñ-bhyaḥ parasmaipadeṣu (7.2.72)

The (*sic* of the S-Aorist takes the augment *iṭ* after the roots *stu*, *su* and *dhūñ* in *parasmaipada* *stu* and *su* are *aniṭ*, *dhūñ* is *veṭ* by the *Sūtra*, *Svavatisūtisūyatidhūñū dīrovā* (7.2.44).

So we have, *ṣtuñ* > *astāvīt*, *astāvīṣṭām* in *parasmaipada* but *astīṣṭa* in *ātmanepada*.

ṣu > *asāvīt*, *asāvīṣṭām*.

dhūñ > *adhāvīt*, *adhāvīṣṭām*.

Yama-ramanamātām sak ca (7.2.73)

Roots *yam*, *ram* and *nam* and roots ending in *a²*, gets the augement *iṭ* before *sic* and further *sak(-s)* is added to these bases in *parasmaipada*.

1. This option applies when the *sic* is not treated as *nit*. After *ūrṇu*, *sic* is optionally *nit*. when it is *nit*, there being neither *guṇa* nor *vṛddhi*.
2. which are *aniṭ*.

Thus we have---

*yam*¹ > *ayansīl*, *ayansiṣṭām*, *ayansiṣuḥ*.

*ram*² > *aranṣla*

ṇam > *anansīl*, *anasīṣṭām*.

sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ (7.3.84)

In *ātmanepada*, roots in general undergo *guṇa* substitution for the final *ik* vowels of a stem before the affixes called *sārvadhātūka*³ and *ārdhadhātūka*⁴ by this *sūtra* and *puganta laghūpadhasya ca* (7.3.86).

Exceptions to *guṇa*:

liñ-sicāvātmanepadeṣu (1.2.11) [*halantāt ik jhal*]

After roots ending in a consonant, that adjoins a vowel of *ik* *pratyāhāra*, the substitute of *liñ*⁵ and *sic*⁶ when they begin with a consonant of *jhal* *pratyāhāra*, are *kit*, when the *ātmanepada* affixes follow.

As such this rule does not permit *guṇa* substitution in the root-base in the *ātmanepada*.

Thus we have,

bhidir > *abbill* in *ātmanepada* but *abhartsīt* in *parasmaipada*.

-
1. The root *yam* is *ātmanepadī* preceded by *ā-āñoyamahanah* (1.3.28). In the sense of *gandhane* (to divulge) the affix *sic* becomes *kit* in *ātmanepada* for *yam* by *sūtra-yamo gandhane* (1.2.15)
 2. *ram* is *parasmaipada* preceded by *vi* and *ā* by *vyāñparibhyaḥ* *ramah* (1.3.83)
 3. *tiñ-śit-sārvadhātukam* (3.4.113)
 4. *ārdhadhātukam śeṣah* (3.4.114)
 5. 3.3.161
 6. 3.1.44 and the *s* of this aorist is elided by *Jhalo jhal* (8.2.26)

uśca (1.2.12) [*luṇsicau ātmanepadeṣu jhal kut*]

and after verb ending in *ṛ*, the substitutes of *luṇi* and the affix *sic* are *kut* when they begin with *jhal* and the *ātmanepada* affixes follow.

Therefore, there cannot be a *guṇa* substitution.

Thus we have, *dukṛṇ* > *akṛta* (*akṛ*+*s*+*t*)

s is elided by *hrsvādaṇāt* (8.2.27), *s* is elided before a *jhalādi* affix when it is preceded by a root ending a short vowel.

vā gamaḥ (1.2.13) [*luṇ-sicau ātmanepadeṣu jhal kut*]

the *luṇi* and *sic* beginning with *jhal*, in the *ātmanepada* are optionally *kut* after the verb *gam*.¹

Elision of sic:

gāti-sthā-ghu-pābhūbhyah sicaḥ parasmaipadeṣu (2.4.77) [*luk*]

The affix *sic* is elided after the roots *gā*, *Sthā*, the roots *dā* and *dhā*² *pā* and *bhū*

Thus we have, *gā*³ > *agat*; *sthā* > *asthāt*; *dā* > *adāt*; *dhā* > *adhāt*; *pā* > *apāt* and *bhū* > *abbūt*.

In *ātmanepada* the *sic* is not elided.

sthā preceded by *upa* is *ātmanepadi* when the meaning is 'to adloze' and when is used intransitively.⁴

1. Therefore, being *kut*, the nasal is dropped in the *ātmanepada*, in forming the Aorist with *sic*, thus we have, *agamat* in *luṇi*. *S* is elided by *hrasvādaṇāt* (8.2.27)
2. *dādghāghvadāp*; The verb having the form of *dā* (to give) and *dhā* (to place) are called *ghu* (1.1.20)
3. *ṇo gā luṇi* (2.4.45) '*gā*' is the substitute of *ṇ* when *luṇi* follows.
4. by the *sūtra upāmantrakaraṇe* (1.3.25); *akarmācca* (1.3.26).

For *sthā* and *ghu* in *ātmanepada*, *sic* becomes *kil*. *a* in the root is replaced by *i*, thus we have,¹

upa+sthā > upāsthit.

m̐ is replaced by *gāñ* before *luñ* and *lṛñ* affixes optionally by *sūtra vibhāṣā luñlṛñoh* (2.4.50).

These are treated as *ñit* by the *sūtra*, *gāñ-kuṭādibhyoññinñit* (1.2.1), and therefore, there will be a replacement of the final *ā* by *ī* by the rule, *ghu-mā-sthā-gā-pā-jahātisām halī*, (6.4.66), Thus we have-

adhygiṣṭa, adhyagiṣātām, adhygiṣata etc. or *adhyaiṣṭa, adhyaiṣātām, adhyaiṣata* etc.

vibhāṣā ghrā-dheṭśācchāṣaḥ (2.4.78)

[*sicaḥ parasmaipadeṣu luk*]

After the verbs *ghrā* (to smell), *dheṭ*² (to drink), *śā* (to pave) *chā* (to cut) and *sā* (to destroy), there is optionally the elision of *sic*, when the *parasmaipada* terminations are employed.

Thus we get, *ghrā > aghrāt*; or *aghrāsīt*. *dhā > adhāt* or *adhāsīt*; *śā > aśāt* or *aśāsīt*; *chā > achāt* or *achāsīt*.

tanādi bhystathasoh (2.4.79)[*sicaḥ vibhāṣa luk*]

After the verbs *tan* (to expand) and others there is optionally the *luk*-elision of *sic* when the *Ātmanepada* affixes *ta* and *thās* of the second person follow. Thus we have,

*tan > atat*³ or *ataniṣṭa, atalhāḥ* or *ataniṣṭhaḥ*.

1. *sthā-ghvoricca*. (1.2.17)

2. *dheṭ* is *ghu*

3. The final nasal is elided by *Sūtra*; *anudāttopadeśa-vanatitanotyādīnāmanunāsikalopo jhalī kñiti*. (6.4.37)

The root *kamu* (to desire) *bhvādigāṇa*, *ātmanepadī* takes *ṇiṇi* by *sūtra kamerniṇi*¹ (3.1.30), thus we have,

*acīkamata*²

and without *ṇiṇi*, we have *acakamata* (*caṇi*). *caṇi* with *ṇi* is treated like *san* by the *sūtra*,

sanvallaghuni caṇpare-anaglope (7.4.93)

In the reduplicated Aorist of the causative, the reduplicated adapts itself to the desiderative, when the vowel of the root is light, and the root has not lost its end-vowel before the causative affix.

Causative-Ñic

ṇau caṇupadhāyāḥ hrasvaḥ (7.4.1)

The shortening of the penultimate vowel takes place in the causative stem when the affix *caṇi* follows.

Then the rule *ṇeranūti* (6.5.51) [*ārdhadhātuke*]

“The *ṛ* of the verbal stem formed with the affix *ṇi*, is elided before an *ārdhadhātuka* affix which does not take the augment *it*,

[so we have, *a+t kāri+ta+ti=a+kari+a+ti*].

1. The affix *ṇiṇi* comes after the root *kamu*. The *ṇ* indicates *vṛddhi*, *acohi ṇiṇi* (7.2.115) and *ṇi* shows *Ātmanepada*
2. *sanyataḥ* (7.4.79) *abhyāsasya ataḥ ikāraḥ san*. *dīrgho laghoḥ* (7.4.94) *laghoḥ abhyāsasya dīrghaḥ nau caṇi pare*. *ṛ* is substituted for the final short *a* of the reduplicate in desiderative (7.4.79) In the reduplicative syllable, a prosodially short vowel is lengthened in the reduplicated Aorist of the causative, when the vowel of the root is light, and the root has not lost its end-vowel before the causative *ṇi* (7.4.94)

This *sūtra* debars *iyañ*, the semivowel *ya*, the *guṇa*, the *vrddhi* and the long substitutions.

Thus we have·

$a+kar+a+l=a+kar+a+l=a+cakar+a+l$

$=acīkar+a+l$

$=acīkarat$ by the *sūtra dīrgho laghoḥ* (7.4.94)

In the reduplicated syllable, a persodially¹ short vowel is lengthened in the Reduplicated Aorist² of the causative, when the vowel of the root is light,³ and the root has not lost its end-vowel⁴ before causative *ni*.

Thus *curādi* *nic*---*acūcurat*, *acūcurata*.

***a*-substitute of reduplicate of Reduplicated Aorist.**

at-smṛ-dṛ-tvar-prath-mrad-stṛ-spāśām. (7.4.95)

Short *a* is substituted for the vowel of the reduplicated in the Reduplicated Aorist of the causative, of the roots *smṛ*, *dṛ*, *tvar*, *prath*, *mrad*, *stṛ* and *spāś*.

Thus we have,

smṛ > *asasmarat*

dṛ > *adadarat*

tvar > *atalvarat*

prath > *aparathat*

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1. prosodially light because of forms like *avibhrajat* (S.C.Vasu) p 1489
 2. otherwise, *papaca* (S.C. Vasu) p.1489
 3. otherwise, observe *atatḥsat*, *ararakṣat* (S C.Vasu) p.1489
 4. The rule will not apply to simple roots as *acakamat* and not so in *acakathat*

mrād > amamradat

str > atastarat

spāś > apaspaśat

This *sūtra* debars the *τ* which would have come under the *sūtra sanvallahuni caṇpare anaglope* (7.4.93).

The short *a* indicates that it is not to be lengthened by *dīrgho laghoḥ* (7.4.94) as *adadarat*.¹

***vibhāṣā veṣṭiceṣṭyoh* (7.4.96)**

short *a* is optionally substituted for the vowel of the reduplicate in *veṣṭa* and *ceṣṭa* in the Reduplicated Aorist of the causative²

Thus we have *avaveṣṭat* or *aviveṣṭat*; *acaceṣṭat* or *aciceṣṭat*.

***ī ca gaṇaḥ* (7.4.97)**

In the Reduplicated Aorist of the causative, *ī* is substituted optionally for the vowel of the reduplicate in *gaṇa*.³

Thus we have *ajīgaṇat* or *ajagaṇat*.

Samprasāraṇam

***ṇa ca sanścaṇaḥ* (6.1.31)**

1. S.C Vasu, p. 1489
2. In one alternative there is shortening of the reduplicate by *sūtra harasvaḥ* (7.4.59), *a* short is substituted for the long vowel of the reduplicate.
3. *gaṇa* is a root which ends in *a*, and this *a* elided by *sūtra ato lopah* (6.4.48), "the *a*, at the end of a stem is elided before an *ārdhadhātuka* affix," before the causative *ṇi*. Again, the rule 7.4.93 does not apply to it because there is an *ak-lopa* here, so in the other alternative, it has its natural *a* (S.C.Vasu, p.1490)

The optional¹ vocalisation of the semivowel of *śvi* in causative takes place when followed by the desiderative *san* and the Reduplicated Aorist (*cañ*) follow, thus we have,

śvi+ṇi+cañ+t=a+śu+ṇi+at (ṇau ca sanścañah)

a+śu+śu+ṇi+at (*cañi*)

= *a+śu+śau+ṇi+at*

= *a+śu+śāv+ṇi+at*

= *a+śu+śav+at* (ṇau cañi.) and (ṇeranīti)

= *aśūsavat* (dīrgho laghoḥ)

or *aśīśvayat*

***hvaḥ samprasāraṇam*²** (6.1.32)

Vocalisation of the semivowel of the causative of *hve* takes place before the desiderative and Reduplicated Aorist affixes. The root *hvā* requires *ya* by *Sūtra*, *śā-cchā-sāhvā-vyā-vepām yuk* (7.3.37) before *ṇi*, but it does not because *samprasāraṇa* rule is stronger.

Thus we have *ajūhavat*.

ṛ-dṛśa aṇi guṇaḥ (7.4.16)

guṇa is the substitution for the vowel of the root, before the affix *aṇi*, in the roots *ṛ* or *ṛ* and *dṛś*.

Thus we have,

sṛ > sarat (from root *sṛ* vide *sūtra* 3.1.56)

ṛ > ārat

1. *vibhāṣā śveḥ* is understood here by *sūtra vibhāṣa śveḥ* (6.1.30)
2. The repetition of the word, *samprasāraṇam*, which was available by *anuvṛtti*, shows that the force of *vibhāṣā* ceases here.

dṛś > *adarśat* and

In *śāsu* > *aśiṣat* (form the *sūtra* *stī-śastyārtibhyaśca*-3.1.56) substitution of *ṛ* in place of vowel of *śās* is by the *sūtra* *śas idaṇhaloḥ* (6.4.34) [*k-ñiti*].

There is the substitution of *i* for the vowel of *śās*,

before the *añ*-aorist and affix beginning with a consonant having an indicatory *k* and *ñ*.¹

śvayateraḥ (7.4.18)

a is the substitute of *ṛ* of *śvṛ* before *añ*.

Thus we have, *aśvayīt*² or *aśiśviyat*³

Modifications for substitute *ciṇ*:-

ciṇo luk (6.4.104)

The personal endings are elided after *ciṇ*, the third person, singular passive of the Aorist, as *ahān*, *alāvi* etc. S.C. Vasu notes here that here the elision of the personal affix *ta* (by *Sūtra ciṇa te padaḥ*-3.1.60) of the aorist being considered as *asiddha*, the affixes *tarap* and *lamap* are not elided; though if the *sūtra* were to be literally interpreted, every affix after (*ciṇ*, ought to be elided, or the word *k-ñiti* is understood here, so that *kñi* and *ñiti* affixes of *ciṇ* are elided and not every affix.⁴

1. And the *S* is changed to *Ṣ* by 8.3.60; *śāsi-vasi-ghasīnānce* “*Ṣ* is the substitution for the *s* of *śās*, *vas* and *ghas* when it is preceded by an *ṃ* vowel or guttural.”
2. *hm-yant kṣaṇa śvasajagrñiśvyeditām* (7.2.5) *no vṛddhi*.
3. *vibhāṣā dhetṛśvyoḥ* (3.1.49) *-cañ* is optional.
4. p.1289

The passive constructions:

bhāva-karmaṇoḥ (1.3.13) [*ātmanepadam*]

By this rule, an *ātmanepada* affix is the substitute of affix *la*¹ when it denotes the action of the verb or the object of the verb.

This *sūtra* restricts *ātmanepada* affixes to *bhāva* and *karma* verbs. By the *sūtra*,

ciṇ bhāva karmaṇoḥ (3.1.66)

Ch is replaced by *ciṇ* when *ta* follows denoting *bhāva* or *karma*.

Thus, *kṛ* > *akāri* etc.

āto yuk ciṇkṛtoḥ (7.3.33)

An augment *yuk* (y) is brought with a root-stem ending in *ā* before the Aorist sign *ciṇ*, and before a *kṛt*-affix with an indicative *ñ* or *ṇ* which causes also the *vrddhi* of the root vowel, as *adāyī*, *adhāyī* with *ciṇ*.

vibhāṣā ciṇ-ṇamulo (7.1.69)

The *num* is added to the root *labh* optionally not preceded by a preposition,² before the *ciṇ* aorist and absolutive *ṇamul*. Thus we have, *alābhi* or *alambhi*.

nityam nītaḥ (3.4.99) [*lasya uttamasya saḥ lopah*]

There will always be elision of the 's'³ of the first person of the affixes that come in place of

1. *laḥ karmaṇi cābhāve cākarmakebhyaḥ* (3.4.69) [*kartari*]
2. This is *vyavasthita vibhāṣā*. The option has been allowed where there is no preposition along with the root; and no option is allowed but *num* must be added (S.C.Vasu, p.134)
3. Elision is compulsory, not optional, *Anuvṛtti* of 'optionally' is stopped here by *nityam*.

'la' which has an indicative *ñ*,¹ so, *vas* and *mas* are replaced by *va* and *ma*.

itaśca (3.4.100) [*ñitaḥ nityam lopaḥ lasya*]

And there is always elision of the *ṛ* of that *parasmaipada*² affix which is the substitute of a *la* having an indicative *ñ*. Thus, for *ti*, we have *t* and for *sṛ*, we have *s*.

tas-thas-tha-mipām tām tam-ta-āmaḥ [*ñitaḥ*]

The affixes *tām*, *lam*, *ta* and *ām* are the substitutes of the four affixes *tas*, *thas*, *tha* and *mīp* respectively, of any *la* which has an indicative *ñ*.

asti-sice-prkṛte (7.3.96) [*sārvadhātuke ṭ*]

A single consonantal *sārvadhātuka* affix gets the augment *ṭ*, after *as* and *sic*, (the aorist character).

ṣijabhyastavidibhyaśca (3.4.109) [*jherjus*]

jus is the substitute of *jhi* when it comes after an Aorist in *Sic* or the imperfect of a reduplicated verb, or the root *vid* (to know).

This rule applies to tenses having *ñ*, other than that of *luñ*, thus *lañ* and *luñ*.

The word *ñit* of *sūtra* 3.4.99 is understood here also. Thus of *sic*, we have *kṛakārṣu*.

Example

Process of Derivation in Luṇ Lakāra:

1. **bhū** 'to be'

1. The tense affixes having indicative 'ñ' are four *lañ*, *luñ*, *luñ*, *luñ*.
2. The *ṛ* of the *Ātmanepada*, is however, not elided because the *anuvṛtti* of *parasmaipada* is understood here from the rule 3.4.94 (*itaśca lopaḥ parasmaipadeṣu*) -S.C.Vasu.

bhū By *luṇ* (3.2.110) the *luṇ* affix is to be added.

bhū luṇ

By *chī sic* (3.1.43)

i) When *luṇ* follows, the affix *chī* is added.

ii) By *cleḥ sic* (3.1.44) *sic* is the substitute of *chī*.

bhū sic luṇ By *luṇ-laṇ-lrñkṣvaḍuāṭṭaḥ* (6.4.71)

aṭ augment takes place. Being *ṭl* it takes place before by *āḍyanlau takitau*.

aṭ bhū sic luṇ=

a bhū s ṭl By *ṭaśca* (3.4.100) elision of *ṛ* and by *gātisthāghupābhūbhyaḥ śicaḥ parasmaipadeṣu* (2.4.77) there is *s* of *sic* and by *bhū bhuvotiṇi* (7.3.88), there is prohibition of *guṇa*. Thus we have.

a bhūt= abhūt (In sing, 3rd person, *parasmaipada*) Further by substituting *tām* for *tas* by 3.4.10. We have *abhūtam*.

abhūvant, here by *saṁyogāntasya lopah* (8.2.23) there is elision of last of double consonant and we get *abhūvam*. So *abhūḥ*, *abhūtam*, *abhūta*, *abhūvam*, *abhūva* and *abhūma*,

In *abhūvam* and *abhūvan va* (*vuk*) comes in by *bhuvo vug-luṇ-liṭoḥ* (6.4.88)

2. *paṭh* 'to read'

After getting, *aṭ*, *paṭh sic t* by rules 3.2.110, 3.1.43, 3.1.44, 6.4.71, 3.4.100, the augment *ṭ* is prefixed *sic* by the *sūtra ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ* (7.2.35).

a paṭh ṭ s t By *astisico'prkteḥ* (7.3.96) the augment *ṭ* is prefixed to *t* of *tip*, being *apṛkt sārvaadhātuka*.

By *ādyantaḥ ṣakṛtaḥ* (1.1.45) it is added in the beginning. Thus we have

a paṭh ɪ s īḷ ɪ By *ut īḷ* (8.2.28) elision of *s* of *śi* takes place. Then by *akṛṣavarṇe dīrghaḥ* we get *ī*, so we have

apaṭhīl.

Alternatively, *apāṭhīl* by *ato halāderlaghoḥ*.

apaṭhiṣṭām By *ādeśpratyayoḥ* (8.3.59) and *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ* (8.4.40) we get

apaṭhiṣṭām

apaṭhiṣ jhī By *syabhyastavidibhyaśca* (3.4.69) *j* substitutes *jhī* and by *cuṭū* (1.3.7) elision of *j* takes place.

apaṭhiṣ us=

apaṭhiṣu By *rutva visarga*.

So, by the same we we get,

apaṭhih, apathistam, apathista, apūthisama, apathisva
and *apathisma*.

Third Chapter

Varieties and Forms of Luñ Lakāra

It has been seen that in *Pāṇinian* grammar the aorist is a simple past tense by the rule *luñ*¹ and is formed by seven different types of stems which are classified as:

1. Non-sigmatic Aorists and
2. Sigmatic Aorists.

Non-sigmatic class has three types of aorists:-

- a) Root Aorist
- b) A-Aorist
- c) Reduplicated Aorist

SIMPLE AORISTS

Sigmatic class has four types of aorists:

- a) S-Aorist
- b) Iṣ-Aorist
- c) Siṣ-Aorist
- d) Sa-Aorist

The common feature of all these seven form is that augment 'a/ā' is added to the root by the rules *lañ- luñ-lṛñkṣvaḍudāttah*² and *āḍajādīnām*³ Being

-
1. 3.2.110
 2. 6.4.71
 3. 6.4.72

ārdhadhātuka, roots are liable to take *i*¹ (*seḷ* roots) take intermediate *i* and no intermediate *i* is added to the *anuḷ* roots. Some roots take intermediate *i* optionally (*weḷ* roots)

Rules and Forms of different types of Aorists

1. NON SIGMATIC AORISTS

A. Simple Aorists

i) Root-Aorist (*sic luk luñ*)

It has been generally remarked that this aorist is like an imperfect, of the root-class without corresponding present indicative, but with all the other parts make up a complete present-system.

In root-class, there is no class-sign and the personal endings are directly added to the stem. The accent falls on the augment, prefixed to root. The root has the *guṇa*-strengthening.

Rules for this type of aorist are:

1. A few roots ending in *ā, e, o* which take this form in the *parasmaipada* and the root *bhū* (to be).

Roots are:

i) *gā* (to go); *dā* (to give); *dhā* (to place); *pā* (to drink); *bhū* (to be); *sthā* (to stand).² These roots retain their long final vowel.³

ii) optionally; *ghrā* (to smell); *dhe* (to drink); *śo* (to sharpen); *cho* (to cut) *so* (to destroy)⁴

1. *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ*

2. 2.4.77;

3. except before *uḥ* of 3rd person plural. *ā* is rejected here.

4. 2.4.78

iii) optionally the roots of *Tanādi* class¹ in 2nd and 3rd person singular *ātmanedapa* in *thās* and *ta*.²

2. Root *ṛñ* (to go) is replaced by *gā* in *luñ*.³

3. i) In *ātmanepada*, *śic* becomes *kīl* for the roots *sthā* and *ghu*⁴ and

ii) *ā* is replaced by *i*.⁵

4. Root *bhū* takes the augment *vuk*.⁶

Conjugations

dā-‘to give’ (in *Parasmaipada*)

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Dual</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1. <i>adām</i>	<i>adāva</i>	<i>adāma</i>
2. <i>adāḥ</i>	<i>adātam</i>	<i>adāta</i>
3. <i>adāt</i>	<i>adātām</i>	<i>aduh</i>

bhū-‘to be’ (in *Parasmaipada*)

1. <i>abhūvam</i>	<i>abhūva</i>	<i>abhūma</i>
2. <i>abhūḥ</i>	<i>abhūtam</i>	<i>abhūta</i>
3. <i>abhūt</i>	<i>abhūtām</i>	<i>abhūvan</i>

ii) **A-AORIST** (*Añ luñ*)

It is an aorist with tense-stem ending in *a* or with union vowel *a* before the endings, corresponding to imperfect of the a-class. Whitney, W.D., remarks that this aorist is in the later

-
1. 2.4.79: Nine roots ending in *n* or *ṇ* (Maxmuller)
 2. before which the final nasal is rejected 6.4.37
 3. 2.4.45
 4. 1.1.20 (*dā-dhā-ghu-atāp*);
 5. 1.2.17
 6. 4.88 (*bhūvo vug-luñ-liṭoh*)

language allowed to be made from a large number of roots (near a hundred)____its closest analogy is with the imperfect a- class, its inflection is the same with that in all particular; and it takes in general a weak form of root.

Rules for derivation

1. Roots, which take this form are:

i) *as* (to throw), *vac* (to speak) *khyā*(to speak). Being *ñit*¹ *guṇa* or *vrddhi* do not take place.

ii) *as* takes the augment *thuk*² (*āstham*); *brū* is replaced by *vac* and takes the augment *um*³

iii) *lip* (to paint); *sic*(to sprinkle); *hve*(to call) in *parasmaipada*⁴ and optionally *ātmanepada*.⁵

iv) Roots classed as beginning with *puṣ*; beginning with *dyut* and those marked with *lṛ* in the *parasmaipada*.⁶ Root *ad* is replaced by *ghalṛ*.⁷ *patlṛ* takes *pum*.⁸

v) The roots *sṛ*(to go), *śās*(to order) and *ṛ* (to go) in *parasmaipada* and *ātmanepada*⁹

vi) optionally verbs marked by *ir*, but in *parasmaipada* only.¹⁰

1. *añ* has 'ñ' as *it samjñā*.

2. 7.4 17

3. 7.4.20

4. 3.1.53

5. 3.1.54

6 3.1.55, *dyut* takes *parasmaipada* affixes optionally. (1.3.61

7. 2.4.37

8. 7.4.19: Being *mit*, added after the last vowel.

9. 3.1.56

10. 3.1.57

optionally *jr*(to fail), *stambh*(to stiffen), *mruc*(to go), *mluc* (to go) *gruc* (to steal) *gluc* (to steal) *gluñc* (to go) *śvi* (to grow) but in *parasmaipada* only.¹

2. Roots ending in *ā, e, i* drop these vowels and a base ending *a* is substituted:

hve substitutes *hva*; *śvi* substitutes *śva*;²

3. Roots ending in *r* and the root *dṛṣ* take *guṇa*,³ and then form a base ending in *a*, as *asarat*; *adarśat*.

4. Roots with penultimate nasal, drop it. *skand* (to step) > *askandam*

5. The vowel in *śas* is replaced by *i*;⁴ Thus we have *a, ś, iṣat*.

Some Conjugations

1. *sic* (to sprinkle)

Parasmaipada

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Dual</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1. <i>asicam</i>	<i>asicāva</i>	<i>asicāma</i>
2. <i>asicaḥ</i>	<i>asicatam</i>	<i>asicata</i>
3. <i>asicat</i>	<i>asicatām</i>	<i>asican</i>

Ātmanepada

1. <i>asice</i>	<i>asicāvahi</i>	<i>asicāmahi</i>
2. <i>asicathāḥ</i>	<i>asicethām</i>	<i>asicadhvam</i>
3. <i>asicala</i>	<i>asicetām</i>	<i>asicanta</i>

1. 3.1.58

2. 7.4.18 (*śvayaterah*)

3. 7.4.16

4. 6.4.34

2. *hve* (to call).

Parasmaipada

1. <i>ahvam</i>	<i>ahvāva</i>	<i>ahvāma</i>
2. <i>ahvaḥ</i>	<i>ahvatam</i>	<i>ahvata</i>
3. <i>ahvat</i>	<i>ahvatām</i>	<i>ahvan</i>

Ātmanepada

1. <i>ahve</i>	<i>ahvāvahı</i>	<i>ahvāmahı</i>
2. <i>ahvathāḥ</i>	<i>ahvethām</i>	<i>ahvadhvam</i>
3. <i>ahvata</i>	<i>ahvetām</i>	<i>ahvanta</i>

B. *Reduplicated-Aorist* (*caṇ luṇi*)

Its characteristic is a reduplication of the radical syllable. For the purpose of the reduplication it follows the general rules of reduplication. An *a*-vowel and *r* (or *ar*) are usually, with some exceptions, repeated by an *i*-vowel. Whitney remarks that, in regard to quantity, this aorist aims always at establishing a diversity between the reduplicating and radical syllables, making the one heavy and the other light. And the preference is very markedly for a heavy reduplication and a light root-syllable-which relation is brought wherever the conditions allow. The inflection of the reduplicated aorist is like that of an imperfect of the second general conjugations.

Rules for derivations

1. A few primitive roots, and the very numerous class of *cur* roots, the denominatives and causatives in *ay* reduplicate their base in the second aorist, taking the augment before, and the usual terminations of the imperfect.

2. The primitive verbs taking this form are: *śri* (to go), *dru* (to run), *su* (to flow), *kam*¹ (to love), if expressing the agent, as *aśriyat*. and

3. Optionally *śvi* (to grow), *dhe* (to suck). If expressing the agent.² Their reduplicative syllable, as far as consonants are concerned, is formed like that of the reduplicated perfect.

4. (i) the roots in *ay*³. drop *ay* and reduce their *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* to simple base vowels, *ā* to *a*, etc. *e* to *i*; *o* to *u*; *ar*, *ār* to *r*⁴. The rule about shortening is applied first and then the reduplication takes place.

(ii) *ni* is elided before *aniṣṭ ārdhadhātuka* affix⁵. The vowel of the reduplicative syllable is lengthened⁶.

(iv) There are certain exception to this rule (7.4.1). Exceptions are given in rules 7.4.2 and 7.4.3. Exceptions are some denominatives: From *māla* > *amamālat*; root *śas* > *aśaśāsāt*; and the roots which has indicator *ṛ*, as *bādhṛ* > *ababādhāt*⁷; In the same way *bhrāj* (to shine); *bhās* (to shine), *bhāṣ* (to speak); *dīp* (to lighten); *jīv* (to live); *mīl* (to meet) and *pīḍ*⁸ (to vex)

1. *cañ* affix is added to these roots 3.1.48. Being *niṣṭ guṇa-vṛddhi* do not take place.

2. 3.1.49

3. *nyanta*

4. 7.4.1

5. 6.4.51

6. 7.4.94

7. 7.4.2

8. 7.4.3

The roots *śvr*¹ and *hve*². lendergo the process of *samprasāraṇa* when *caṇ* follows and *ṇi* is added to *śvr*. The roots beginning with vowel, the second syllable is to be reduplicated, as *aś* > *āśiśam*, but if the root ends in double consonant, the first letter of which is *n, d* or *r*, the second letter, then is reduplicated not the *n, d* or *r*³.

Roots *pā* (to drink), *sthā* (to stand) and *ghrā* (to smell) can be considered as irregular forms⁴. we have: *pā* > *apīpyat*; *sthā* > *atiṣṭhīpat* and *ghrā* > *aṇighrīpat* or *aṇighrapat*.

SOME CONJUGATIONS

Śri (to go)

Parasmaipada

1. <i>aśiśrayam</i>	<i>aśiśrayāva</i>	<i>aśiśrayām</i>
2. <i>aśiśrayaḥ</i>	<i>aśiśrayatam</i>	<i>aśiśrayata</i>
3. <i>aśiśrayat</i>	<i>aśiśrayatām</i>	<i>aśiśrayan</i>

Ātmanepada

1. <i>aśiśraye</i>	<i>aśiśrayāvahi</i>	<i>aśiśrayāmahi</i>
2. <i>aśiśrayathaḥ</i>	<i>aśiśrayethām</i>	<i>aśiśrayadhvam</i>
3. <i>aśiśrayata</i>	<i>aśiśrayetām</i>	<i>aśiśrayanta</i>

2. SIGMATIC (OR SIBILANT AORIST)

In this type of aorist, the tense-sign *s* is added to the root either directly or with preceding augment *i*, its endings, usually, are immediately added to the tense-sign.

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1. 6.1.31
 2. 6.1.32
 3. 6.1.3
 4. 7.1.4-6

In certain number of roots it is added with a union-vowel *a*

A few number of roots take *s* for its formations.

In the vast majority of cases, the sibilant is the final of the tense-stem.

With the augment *ṛ* the tense-sign is *ṛṣ*, and in a small number cases, *ṛṣ* is increased by *s*, making the whole addition *sṛṣ*.

Thus, we have the four varieties of sibilant-aorist:

A) With endings added immediatly, directly to the sibilant:---

- i) With *s* simply after the root: *s*-aorist.
- ii) With *ṛ* before the S : *ṛṣ*-aorist.
- iii) With *i*, *ll* and *S* at the end of root: *sṛṣ*-aorist.

B) With *a* added to the sibilant before the ending:

- iv) With sibilant and *a* : *sa*-aorist.

Personal terminations are:

In *Parsmarpada*

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Dual</i>	<i>Plural</i>	
Ist person	<i>am</i>	<i>va</i>	<i>ma</i>
2nd person	<i>s(:)</i>	<i>lam</i>	<i>la</i>
3rd person	<i>t</i>	<i>lām</i>	<i>an</i>

In *Ātmanepada*

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Dual</i>	<i>Plural</i>	
Ist person	<i>i</i>	<i>vahi</i>	<i>mahi</i>

2nd prson	<i>thāḥ/thās</i>	<i>āthām dhvam</i>
3rd person	<i>ta</i>	<i>atām anta</i>

The general rule for derivation of this aorist is:

augment *a/ā*+root + *s* or syllable containing *s*+ personal terminations.

i. S-AORIST

(Suffix *s* ; athematic endigs: *ṽddhi* in *parasmaipada*, *guṇa* or weak grade in *ātmanepada*).

The terminations of this form are as follow.

Parasmaipada

Singular	Dual	Plural	
1st person	<i>sam</i>	<i>sua</i>	<i>sma</i>
2nd person	<i>sīḥ</i>	<i>stam/tam</i>	<i>sta/ta</i>
3rd person	<i>sīt</i>	<i>stām/tām</i>	<i>sta/ta</i>

Ātmanepada

1st person	<i>si</i>	<i>svahi</i>	<i>smahi</i>
2nd person	<i>sthāḥ</i>	<i>sāthām/thāḥ</i>	<i>dhvam/ḍvam</i>
3rd person	<i>sta/ta</i>	<i>sātām</i>	<i>sata</i>

Rules for derivation of S-AORIST:

It differs from the *iṣ*-aorist that *iṣ*-aorist is peculiar to the verbs which take the intermediate *ī* (*seṭ-dhātus*) where this aorist rejects the insertion of *i* (*aniṭ-dhātus*). Thus it is formed mainly from the *aniṭ*-roots.

2. A final vowel and short medial vowel take *ṽddhi* in the *parasmaipada*; *kṣip* > *akṣarpsam*; *śi* > *aśarśam*¹, *pac* > *apākṣit*².

3. *guṇa* takes place in *ātmanepada* if the verb ends in *ι, u³ śi* > *aśeṣi*, otherwise no change of vowel; *kṛ* > *akṛṣi*.

4. The terminations beginning with *st* or *sth* drop their *s* if the base ends in a short vowel or in a consonant, except nasals, as *kṣip* > *akṣarps-tam* (in 2. p. dual); *akṣarṣ-tam* (in 3p.dual); *akṣarṣa-ta* (2.p.plural).

5. The roots *sthā* (to stand) *dā* (to give), *dhā* (to place), *de* (to pity), *dhey* (to feed), *do* (to cut) change their final vowels into *ι* before the termination of the *ātmanepada*⁴as, *sthā* > *upāsthita*.

6. *mī* (to throw), *dī* (to decay) change their final vowel to *ā* in the *ātmanepada* and *lī* (to stick) does so optionally⁵ as *amāsta*, *adāsta*, *alāsta* or *aleṣṭa*.

In the *Parasmaipada* these verbs take the *ιs* form of aorist.

7. *han* (to kill) drops its nasal in the *ātmanepada*⁶. as *ahata*, *ahasālām*.

8. *gam* (to go) drops its nasal in the *ātmanepada* optionally⁷. as *agata* or *agaṁsta*.

1. 7.2.1

2. 7.2.3

3. 1.2.12

4. 1.2.17

5. 6.1.50-51

6. 1.2.14

7. 1.2.13

9. *yam* drops its nasal, according to its various meanings, necessarily or optionally.¹

as *upāyata* (the espoused) or *upāyamsta*.

Some Conjugations

S-aorist (Without intermediate *i*)

1. Root ending in consonant—***kṣip*** ‘to throw’

Parasmaipada-Vṛddhi takes place.

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Dual</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1. <i>akṣaip-sam</i>	<i>akṣaip-sva</i>	<i>akṣaip-sma</i>
2. <i>akṣaip-siḥ</i>	<i>akṣaip-tam</i>	<i>akṣaip-la</i>
3. <i>akṣaip-sīt</i>	<i>akṣaip-tām</i>	<i>akṣaip-suḥ</i>

Ātmanepada-No change

1. <i>akṣip-si</i>	<i>akṣip-svahi</i>	<i>akṣip-smahi</i>
2. <i>akṣip-thaḥ</i>	<i>akṣip-sāthām</i>	<i>akṣip-dhvam</i>
3. <i>akṣip-la</i>	<i>akṣip-sālām</i>	<i>akṣip-sata</i>

2. Verb ending in *i* vowel---***ni*** ‘to lead’

Parasmaipada-(*Vṛddhi* takes place)

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Dual</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1. <i>anaiṣam</i>	<i>anaiṣva</i>	<i>anaiṣma</i>
2. <i>anaiṣiḥ</i>	<i>anaiṣtam</i>	<i>anaiṣta</i>
3. <i>anaiṣīt</i>	<i>anaiṣtām</i>	<i>anaiṣtuḥ</i>

Ātmanepada---(*guṇa* takes place)

1. <i>aneṣi</i>	<i>aneṣvahi</i>	<i>aneṣmahī</i>
2. <i>aneṣthāḥ</i>	<i>aneṣāthām</i>	<i>aneḍhvam</i>
3. <i>aneṣta</i>	<i>aneṣālām</i>	<i>aneṣata</i>

3. Verb ending in *r* vowel---**kr** 'to do'

Parasmaipada---(*vṛddhi* takes place)

1. <i>akārṣam</i>	<i>akārṣva</i>	<i>akārṣma</i>
2. <i>akārṣīḥ</i>	<i>akārṣṭam</i>	<i>akārṣṭa</i>
3. <i>akārṣīt</i>	<i>akārṣṭām</i>	<i>akārṣuḥ</i>

4. Verb ending in *ā* vowel---**dā** 'to give'

Ātmanepada only: *ā* changes to *i*.

1. <i>adīṣi</i>	<i>adīṣvahi</i>	<i>adīṣmahi</i>
2. <i>adīṭhāḥ</i>	<i>adīṣṭām</i>	<i>adīṣṭvam</i>
3. <i>adīta</i>	<i>adīṣṭām</i>	<i>adīṣata</i>

5. Verb ending in *h*---**dah** 'to burn'

P.sing 1. *adhākṣam* 2. *adhākṣīḥ* 3. *adhakṣīt*

A.sing.1. *adhakṣ* 2 *adagdhāḥ* 3. *adagdhā*

6. Verb ending with penultimate *r-srj* 'to let off'

P.sing. 1. *asrākṣam* 2 *asrākṣīḥ* 3 *asrākṣīt*

A sing. 1. *asrākṣi* 2. *asrṣṭīṣhāḥ* 3. *asrṣṭa*

ii) IṢ-AORIST

(suffix *ṣ*; athematic endings; *vṛddhi* or *guṇa* in *parasmaipada*; *guṇa* in *ātmanepada*)

Terminations of this form are (in *Parasmaipada*):-

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st person	<i>ṣam</i>	<i>ṣva</i>	<i>ṣma</i>
2nd person	<i>īḥ</i>	<i>ṣṭam</i>	<i>ṣṭa</i>
3rd person	<i>īt</i>	<i>ṣṭām</i>	<i>ṣuḥ</i>

In Ātmanepada

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st person	ṛi	ṛvahi	ṛmahī
2nd person	ṛthāḥ	ṛāthām	ṛdhvam/ṛdhvam
3rd person	ṛta	ṛālām	ṛata

Rules for devivation of ṛ-AORIST:---

1. In this form of aorist, the intermediate *i* is added as a part of the terminations¹. to the roots known as *seṭ*. So the verbs are liable to take intermediate *i*.

2. In *parasmaipada* final vowel takes *vrddhi*,². *śri* > *aśrāyīt*.

3. In *ātmanepada*, final vowel takes *guṇa*, and also *guṇa* takes place for medial or initial vowel; *budh* > *abodhiṣam*; *abodhiṣi* in *ātmanepada*.

4. The vowel *a* followed by a single final consonant, may or may not take *vrddhi* in *Parasmaipada* if the verb begins with consonant;³. *kaṇ* > *akāṇiṣam* or *akanṣam*.

5. Roots ending in *al* or *ar* always take *vrddhi* in the *Parasmaipada*;⁴. *jval* > *ajvālīt*; *kṣar* > *akṣārīt*.

6. In the same way in *vad*⁵. (to speak) and *vraj*⁶ (to go), *a* takes *vrddhi* but not in root-base

1. 7.2.35

2. 7.2.1

3. 7.2.7

4. 7.2.2

5. 7.2.3; *avādīt*

6. 7.2.3; *avrājīt*

ending in consonant taking augment¹. *i*; *divu > adevīt*; *citi*.²

7. Roots ending *h, m, y*, the roots *kṣaṇ* (to burt), *śvas* (to breathe) and the roots of the *cur*-class, roots with *e* do not take *ṛddhi*³, *agrahīt*; *avyayīl akṣṇīt*; *aśvasīt*.

8. In desiderative base, *guṇa* does not take place; *budh > abubodhiṣam*.

9. Intensives in *y*, if preceded by a consonant, must, certain denominatives in *y* may, drop their final *y*.⁴

If *y* is preceded by a vowel, *y* is left between the final vowel and the intermediate *i*;

bhid(to cut) > *Int.base bebhidy* > *Aor. Ātman. abebhidiṣi*. *bhū* > *Int.base bobhūy* > *Aor. Ātm. abobhūiṣi*. *Denom. base namasy* > *Aor. anamasyiṣam* or *anamīṣam*.

10. The root *han* is replaced by *vadh*; *avadhū*, but in *ātmanepada* endings *han* is optionally replaced by *vadh* and preceded by *ā*⁵, *han* takes *ātmanepada* affixes.⁶ *avadhiṣṭa*⁷. or *āhata*⁸.

11. The augment *i* is lengthened after *grah*⁹.

1. 7.2.4

2. *acetīt*

3. 7.2.5

4. Maxmūlar, p.181

5. 2.4.43

6. 2.4.44

7. 1.3.28

8. 6.4.37

9. 7.2.37

12. The vowel in root *ūrṇu* is lengthened optionally before *śic* in *parasmaipada* with the augment *ī*¹; *aurṇāvīt* alternatively; *aurṇāvīt*.

13. The *aniṭ* roots *stu, su*; *veṭ* root *dhūñ* take the augment *ī* in *parasmaipada*²; *ṣtu > astāvīt*; in *ātmanepada* *astoṣṭa*. *su > sāvīt*; *dhū > adhāvīt* in *parasmaipada*, and *adhōṣṭa* in *ātmanepada*.

Some Conjugations

īṣ-Aorist (with intermediate *ī*)

1. Root ending in *a* vowel.

pū 'to purify'

Parasmaipada ; (*Vṛddhi* in *Parasmaipada*)

Singular	Dual	Plural
1. <i>apāviṣam</i>	<i>apāviṣva</i>	<i>apāviṣma</i>
2. <i>apāvīḥ</i>	<i>apāviṣṭam</i>	<i>apāviṣṭa</i>
3. <i>apāvīt</i>	<i>apāviṣṭām</i>	<i>apāviṣuḥ</i>

Ātmanepada: (*guṇa* in *ātmanepada*)

1. <i>apav-īṣi</i>	<i>apav-īṣvahi</i>	<i>apav-īṣmahi</i>
2. <i>apav-īṣṭhah</i>	<i>apav-īṣṭhām</i>	<i>apav-idhvam</i> or <i>dhvam</i>
3. <i>apav-īṣṭa</i>	<i>apav-īṣṭām</i>	<i>apav-īṣata</i>

2. Root ending in consonant-*budh* 'to know'

Parasmaipada (*guṇa* takes place)

1. <i>abodh-iṣam</i>	<i>abodh-iṣva</i>	<i>abodh-iṣma</i>
2. <i>abodh-iḥ</i>	<i>abodh-iṣṭam</i>	<i>abodh-iṣṭa</i>
3. <i>abodh-īt</i>	<i>abodh-iṣṭām</i>	<i>abodh-iṣuḥ</i>

1. 7.2.6

2. 7.2.72

Ātmanepada : (*guṇa* takes place)

1. *abodh-iṣi* *abodh-iṣvahi* *abodh-iṣmah*
2. *abodh-iṣṭhāḥ* *abodh-iṣāthām* *abodh-idhvam*
3. *abodh-iṣṭa* *abodh-iṣātām* *abodh-iṣata*

iii) **siṣ-AORIST**

(Suffix *siṣ*, athematic endings; *parasmaipada* only).

Parasmaipada

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st person	<i>s-i-ṣām</i>	<i>s-iṣva</i>	<i>s-iṣma</i>
2nd person	<i>s-iḥ</i>	<i>s-iṣṭam</i>	<i>s-iṣṭa</i>
3rd person	<i>s-īt</i>	<i>s-iṣtām</i>	<i>ṣ-iṣuḥ</i>

Rules for derivation of *Siṣ-Aorist*:

1. This aorist is conjugated in *parasmaipada*, only. *s* is added to the end of root before the verb takes the aorist terminations, and after *s* the root employs the usual terminations with *i*; *iṣam*.

2. Most of the verbs taking this form of the aorist end in *ā* or in diphthongs which take *ā* as their substitute. This *ā* remains unchanged.

3. Three roots ending *m* take this form;

yam (to hold) *ram* (to rejoice) *nam* (to bend)¹; we have; *ayamsīt*.

SOME CONJUGATIONS:

yā 'to go' in *parasmaipada* only.

1. 7.2.73; *yam-ram-namātām sak ca*.

Singular	Dual	Plural
1. <i>ayāsiṣam</i>	<i>ayāsiṣva</i>	<i>ayāsiṣma</i>
2. <i>ayāsīḥ</i>	<i>ayāsiṣtam</i>	<i>ayāsiṣta</i>
3. <i>ayāsīt</i>	<i>ayāsiṣtām</i>	<i>ayāsiṣuḥ</i>

nam 'to bend' in *parasmaipada* only

1. <i>anaṁsiṣam</i>	<i>anaṁsiṣva</i>	<i>anaṁsiṣma</i>
2. <i>anaṁsīḥ</i>	<i>anaṁsiṣtam</i>	<i>anaṁsiṣta</i>
3. <i>anaṁsīt</i>	<i>anaṁsiṣtām</i>	<i>anaṁsiṣuḥ</i>

iv) **Sa-AORIST**

(Suffix *s* with thematic endings; *parasmaipada* only).

Parasmaipada

	Singular	Dual	Plural
First Person	<i>sam</i>	<i>sāva</i>	<i>sāma</i>
Second Person	<i>saḥ</i>	<i>satām</i>	<i>sata</i>
Third Person	<i>sat</i>	<i>satām</i>	<i>san</i>

Ātmanepada

First Person	<i>si</i>	<i>sāvahi/vahi</i>	<i>sāmahi</i>
Second Person	<i>sathāḥ/thāḥ</i>	<i>sāthām</i>	<i>sadhvam/dhvām</i>
Third Person	<i>sata/ta</i>	<i>sātām</i>	<i>santa</i>

Special Rules for derivation of **Sa-AORIST**

1. Some roots ending in *sṣsh* preceded by *i u ṛ* take the terminations of this aorist, without any intermediate *i*¹. Their radical vowel remains unchanged ; *ś* replaced by *ṣ*; and *ṣ* by *k*².

1. 3.1.45; the affix is *ksa*; *drś* is exception (3.1.47)

2. *ksa* being *kṛt*, *guṇa*, *vrddhi* do not apply; 8 2 36,41

2. The root *ślṣ* takes this form only if it means to embrace¹

3. The root *duh* (to milk) *dih* (to anoint) *lih* (to lick) *guh* (to hide) may take in *ātmanepada*.

thah instead of *sathāḥ*, *tā* in place of *sata*, *vah* instead of *sāvahi* and *dhvam* instead of *sadhvam*.

4. *a* of *ksa* is elided when followed by *ajādī* affix²; *dīś* > *adikṣan*.

SOME CONJUGATIONS

1. Root *dīś* 'to show'

Parasmaipada

1. <i>adikṣam</i>	<i>adikṣāva</i>	<i>adikṣāma</i>
2. <i>adikṣaḥ</i>	<i>adikṣatam</i>	<i>adikṣata</i>
3. <i>adikṣat</i>	<i>adikṣatām</i>	<i>adikṣana</i>

Ātmanepada

1. <i>adikṣi</i>	<i>adikṣāvahi</i>	<i>adikṣāmahi</i>
2. <i>adikṣathāḥ</i>	<i>adikṣāthām</i>	<i>adikṣadhvam</i>
3. <i>adikṣata</i>	<i>adikṣātām</i>	<i>adikṣanta</i>

2. *guh* 'to hide'

P. Sing. 1. *aguhkṣam* 2. *aguhkṣaḥ* 3. *aguhkṣat*

Ā. Sing. 1. *aguhkṣi* 2. *aguhkṣatha* 3. *aguhkṣata*

3. *lih* 'to smear'

P. Sing. 1. *alikhṣam* 2. *alikhṣaḥ* 3. *alikhṣat*

A. Sing. 1. *alikhṣi* 2. *alikhṣathāḥ* 3. *alikhṣata*

1. 3.1.46

2. 7.3.72

4. **duh** ‘to milk’

P.Sing 1. *adhukṣam* 2. *adhukṣa* 3. *adhukṣat*

Ā.Sing 1. *adhikṣi* 2. *adhikṣathāḥ* 3. *adhukṣata*

5. *dih*

P Sing. 1. *adhukṣam* 2. *adhukṣaḥ* 3. *adhukṣat*

Ā Sing 1. *adhikṣi* 2. *adhikṣathah* 3. *adhikṣata/adigdha*

Chapter-IV

Conclusions

Meaning, use and Historical Development of Aorist

Aorist is one of the past-form of three past-forms *lañ* (imperfect), *luṭ* (perfect) and *luñ* (aorist) mentioned in *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, and is used to mention the action which took place very recently (say, within twenty four hours). *Siddhāntakaumudī* explains the point as, the affix *Luñ* may be employed after a root in the sense of the past generally (*Luñ bhūtārthavṛtteḥ dhātoḥ*). As the two prior *sūtras* [(*anadyatane lañ*) (*Aṣṭ.3.2.111*); *Parokṣe Luṭ* (*Aṣṭ.3.2.115*)] denote the past before 3 A.M. of the proceeding day, this tense denotes the past since then.

But it has been observed by the scholars that this value of aorist is seen in the older language (Vedic Lang) but in the later classical Sanskrit imperfect, perfect and aorist are undisciminated past tenses (Whitney, para 532).

Burrow observes that the use of aorist in later classical (Sanskrit) Language “dies out”.

According to Whitney, the aorist of the classical Sankrit is simply a preterit, equivalent to the imperfect and perfect, and frequently coor-

dinated with them. He adds that 'no distinction of meaning has been established between the modes of present system and those of the perfect and aorist-system.

Pāṇini, in relation to structure and meaning, mentions seven types of Aorist:

<i>vikaraṇa lug-luṇ</i>	(Root-Aorist)
<i>aṇ-luṇ</i>	(a-aorist)
<i>caṇ-luṇ</i>	(Reduplicated Aorist)
<i>anṭ-syḷluṇ</i>	(s-Aorist)
<i>seṭ-syḷluṇ</i>	(iṣ-Aorist)
<i>sak-seṭ-syḷluṇ</i>	(sṛṣ-Aorist)
<i>ksa-luṇ</i>	(sa-Aorist)

A brief reference to the evolution of the *Aorist Aspect* is not out of place here: As the things stand, three types of aorists can be reconstructed for the Proto-Indo-European.

These aorists are:

- I. The root Aorist.
- II. The sigmatic Aorist.
- III. The thematic Aorist.

The root aorist can be formed from the following types of roots:

1. *Ceh* (where *h* is a laryngeal)
2. *CR_eR*
3. *CR_eh*
4. *CRC* (with Zero grade vocalism of the root of the type *CeRC*).

Compare the following examples:

Skt. *ádḥāt* < *a+dheh+t*

ásrot < *a+kleu+t*;

áprāt < *a+pleh+t* gk. *Plet-o.* and

adṛśma < *a+drk+ma*

Normally, the fully grade of vocalism is attested throughout the paradigm; this is different from the imperfect of the roots where full grade vocalism is attested in the singular and zero grade vocalism of the root is attested in the dual and the plural.

The second type of aorist that can be reconstructed is -s aorist. The root vocalism of the -s aorist is in *vṛddhi* grade and this vocalism is attested throughout the paradigm. Thus,

a-vāḥ-ṣ-am < *a+vok+s+m* and o — *ō* — *ā*,

regular fashion. Compare also *abhārṣam* from the root *√bhr̥*.

In Greek an-s aorist of *deik* should be *deik+s* but root vowel loses its length under osthoff rule. This *e-diksa* < *e-dēik+s+m*; avestan *dāś* < *daik+s+t* and latin *dixi* < *deik+si*.

The third or thematic aorist is rare. Thus we have *avidat* Skt. *eide* < *a+vid+a+t*; Greek *ēluthe*. The origin of the thematic aorist seems to be interesting. Compare the forms from Greek:

leip-o 'I leave'

a-lip-o-n Aorist

te-loip-ā

Notice that the present has full grade root vocalism, the aorist has zero grade vocalism and the perfect has *-o-* grade vocalism along with the reduplication. This contrast in vocalism along with accentual mobility could have been responsible for the rise of the thematic aorist.

The same kind of vocalism is also responsible for the evolution of the 6th class present of Sanskrit of the type *tudati*.

There are four other asrist in Sanskrit. These are *-sa-aorist*, *-iṣ-aorist*, *-siṣ-aorist* and the reduplicated aorist.

The *-sa-* aorist is formed by only *ten roots* in the Vedic texts. These roots are of the type *CeR* in IE, and *CaRC* where the second *-C* is *j ś, ṣ* and *h*.

All these consonants become *k* before *s* and they attest zero grade vocalism. The zero grade vocalism is comparable to the zero-grade of the thematic aorists. Thus it appears *-sa-aorist* is thematized form of the *-s-* aorist, other things being equal.

The *-iṣ-* aorist is simply *seṭ* root aorist or aorist of the roots of the type *CeCh* in IE and the *-siṣ-* aorists is a mixture of *-iṣ-* and the *-s-* aorists. We could work out a complete history of the rise of these aorists but that is not the main aim of this dissertation.

Finally the reduplicated aorist is historically a problem. These aorists have very often causative meaning and these reduplicated aorists are connected with *-aya-* forms and this affix is a causative forming suffix in the Skt. language.

Finally the aorist very often are semantically indefinite past forms. Though it is often found that aorist, perfect and imperfect are interchangeable, however historically these must have been different as attested in Homeric greek and the old portions of the *Ṛg-veda*.

Pāṇinian grammar¹. classifies its verbal stems into ten types². Aorist is one of these types and denotes an action which has a reference to a simple past. Some think that originally in Proto-(or primitive) Indo-European [PIE), the aorist has nothing to do with tense, and a past sense could be expressed by means of an aorist stem only if it was supported by the augment³. But in *Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī* the aorist has become *simple past*, when the action have taken place in the immediate past. In sanskrit it is formed by seven different types of stem which are again classified in two classes. Kurylowicz keeps these under '**two principal allomorphs**'. According to him⁴: the various formations of the Indo-european aorist may be reduced to two principal allomorphs:

1. The apophonic type represented by different forms of the verbal root, e.g. Skt. *apṛāt*, *adāt*, *arucat*.

2. The sigmatic aorist.

1. generally known as *aṣṭādhyāyī* and is considered as descriptive grammar

2. *Lakāra*

3. Murti, M.S.,(1984); p.269

4. J.Kurylowicz (1964); p.109

He notes that *-iṣ-* and *-siṣ-* aorists are only historical variants of *-s-* aorist and *-sa-* aorist belong to the thematic by its origin.

The seven types of aorist, which are further classified in two groups, as A. *Non-Sigmatic* and B. *Sigmatic*, are:

A. Non-sigmatic Aorists

- i. Root Aorist (I)
- ii. A-Aorist (II)
- iii. Reduplicated Aorist (III)

B. Sigmatic Aorists

- i S-Aorist (IV)
- ii. *lṣ-* Aorist (V)
- iii. *Siṣ-* Aorist (VI)
- iv. *Sa-* Aorist (VII)

According to Kurylowicz it seems permissible to consider thematic mediopassive aorist as an innovation induced by the proportion imperfective active: imperfective medio passive (*bharat: bharata*), and to assume the following indo-european¹. distribution of the fundamental types of the aorist:

active:	athematic	thematic	sigmatic
mediopassive:	athematic		sigmatic

The general trend of the development of Aorist, therefore has been to replace the athematic by the sigmatic mediopassive.²

-
1. T. Burrow notes that Sanskrit lang. is more analysable and its roots are more easily separable from accretionary elements in comparison to other IE lgs.
 2. The inflectional categories of Indo-European (1964); p.79

It is seen that the non-sigmatic root aorist (*ādhāt*) and the *ā*-aorist (*āruhat*) do not differ in their formation from the imperfects of the corresponding present classes (*āyāt*, *atudat*)¹.

Some scholars believe that the aorist and imperfect tenses are specialisations of a single past tense characterised by the augment and the 'secondary' endings. From the point of view of its formations, the imperfect might be looked on as an 'aorist of the present stem.' An aorist is an aorist, and not an imperfect, if no corresponding present form exist.² Thus '*ayāt*' (he went) from *yā* (to go) and '*atudat*' (he struck) from *tud* (strike), are imperfect forms because they correspond to the presents '*yāti*' (he goes) and '*tudati*' (he strikes). But '*adhāt*' (he put) and '*agamat*' (he went) are aorist forms derived directly from the root, since *dhā* (to put) and *gam* (to go) form presents of a different kind, '*dadhāti*' and '*gachhati*' with corresponding imperfect forms '*adadhāt*' and '*agachhat*'. According to Whitney³, in regard to form, different varieties of aorist are alike, in the indicative, augment-preterits to which there does not exist any corresponding present; in regard to meaning exchangeable with imperfects and perfects. Macdonell⁴, remarks on the point that it lacks of a corresponding present, there are however, sometimes sporadic forms from the same stem as

1. T. Burrow, p.332

2. Michael Coulson (Sanskrit); on the basis of Macdonell, Whitney...)

3. para 825 (Sanskrit grammar)

4 Vedic Grammar, para 497 (p.365); note p. 365

the aorist beside the normal ones; thus the 2. du. pres 'kṛ-thas' occurs besides the numerous regular forms of the *nu*-class.

Burrow further views that the two types of preterite, imperfect and aorist, have arisen by specialisation out of system with undifferentiated preterite, and the continued existence of forms common to the two remains as an indication of this.¹ The difference in function depends on whether a corresponding present exists or not. But the reduplicated aorist is less closely connected with corresponding present stems. It has undergone special development of its own, though it cannot be separated from the reduplicated type of present.

Gonda assumes that the existence of a single present-aorist formation at an early period and which, in the course of time, must have become differentiated.²

Derivational Process of Pāṇini

Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī is, as it is generally considered, a set of rules (*Sūtras*)³, ordered in a way which, on one hand consist 'utmost brevity and algebric' condensation⁴ and on the otherhand, generate on in finite number of Sanskrit words and sentences. Stall takes it as descriptive grammar, not prescriptive⁵. These rules serve a purpose to

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1. T. Burrow; Sanskrit lanuage, p, 332
 2. J.Gonda; Old Indian, p.88
 3. George Cardona accounts for about 3983 sūtras,
 4. Ram Nath Sharma, vol.1,p.44
 5. Quoted by George Cardona (1980), p.182. The first Indian print)

derive forms¹ and provide affixes to introduce after the bases under the given conditions. Items are derived terminating in verbal or nominal endings. Bases (*prakṛti*) and affixes (*pratyaya*) are, thus, the basics to the derivational system of *Pāṇini*. The derived forms are called *pada*². The bases are of two types: Verb roots (*dhātu*) and nominal (*prātipadika*). These may be either primitive or derived. Primitive verb roots appear in the *Dhātu-pāṭha* and primitive nominal bases are found in *gaṇa-pāṭha* (*lexicon*) , George Cardona notes that *Pāṇini* accepts that verb roots are basic units to which affixes are added, and basic derivational procedure thus, consists in introducing affixes to bases³. under condition. His technique, therefore, is considered as 'Context- Sharing.'

The basic principle of interpretation of *sūtras* is-

i) a *sūtra* should be understood at place where it first appears in grammar. (*yathoddeśa*). It focusses the PHYSICAL CONTEXT.

ii) a *sūtra* should be understood at the place where it is operative (*sthān*). It focusses the FUNCTIONAL CONTEXT. The different *sūtras* are presented in sets or blocks in such a way that larger set contains one or more smaller sets. Larger set is considered DOMAIN (*adhikāra*).

There are four domains in the *aṣṭādhyāyī*.⁴

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1. Also called *lakṣya*
 2. *Sup-tiṇantam padam* (1.4.14)
 3. *Pāṇini*, p.185
 4. Ram Nath Sharma, p.60

a) **Controlling Domain**

First book of *aṣṭādhyāyī* which contain definitional and interpretational rules.

b) **Obligatory Domain**

Third through fifth books of *aṣṭādhyāyī* which are scanned by every base-input.

c) Rules contained in last quarter of book six and the seventh book.

d) **PADA Domain**

Rules contained in last three quarters of the book eight are lineary ordered.

Proper interpretation and operation of the rules is such that a lower level rule expects the presence of a higher level rule or elements there from . So the recurrence (*anuvṛtti*) is the key to interpret rules. The first rule of domain is termed as heading rule (*adhikāra sūtra*). *A string falls within the application of a domain or an interior domain if and only if it meets the requirements laid by the Functional domain.*¹

Thus the rules are interdependent for the correct and full interpretation of the *Sūtrās* and for the derivations of the words (*Pada*). *Patñjali* remarks that two rules do not become different simply because they are at different places, they may share a single context.²

Thus in *aṣṭādhyāyī* arrangement of rules, rules operate within a given domain and also, across the domain boundaries.

1. Ibid, p.61

2. M.Bh.III.na *videśastham iti kṛtvato nānāvākyaṃ bhavati. videśastham api sad ekam vākyaṃ bhavati.*

EXAMPLE (With reference to Aorist-derivations)

Sūtra acaḥ karmakartari (3.1.62) is composed of two *padas*:

1. *acaḥ* in fifth *vibhaktiḥ* (*apādāna* case)

2. *karmakartari* in seventh *vibhaktiḥ* (*adhikarāṇa* case) Now, for the proper interpretation of this *Sūtra*, it depends on the following *Sūtras*:

pratyayaḥ (3.1.1)

paraśca (3.1.2)

dhātorekāco halādeḥ kriyāsamabhīhāre yañ. (3.1.22)

cli luṇi (3.1.43)

cleḥ sic (3.1.44)

ciṇ te padaḥ (3.1.60)

dīp-jana-budha-pūritāyīpāyibhyo' *nyatarasyām*
(3.1.61)

These *sūtras* will contribute their elements for the proper interpretation of the *Sūtra* 3.1.62. With the help of *anuvṛtti* (recurrence) the following string will take place.¹

Pratyayaḥ 1/1 *Paraśca* 1/1 *dhātoḥ* 5/1 *ciṇ* 1/1
te 7/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1 *acaḥ* 7/1 *karmakartari*
7/1

ajantad dhātoḥ parasya cleḥ pratyasya kiarmakartari
ta śabde parataściṇādeśo bhavati anyatarsyām.

“Affix *cli* optionally is replaced by *ciṇ* when the former occurs after a root verb ending in *ac* (a vowel) and when *ta*, a replacement of *Luṇ* which denotes object treated as if agent follows.”

1. nominal endings are shown with all these elements.

Yet there are additional rules which help in the getting the proper meaning of the *sūtras* as---

tas mād ulti ullarasya (1.1.67)

tasminniti nirdiṣṭe pūrvasya (1.1.66)

ṣaṣṭhi sthāneyogaḥ (1.1.49) and the *Sandhi Sūtras*.

Therefore the *Pāṇini's* process of derivation is the process of 'reference to antecedent.'

Aorist-Markers

The general aorist marker is *cli* and it is replaced by *sic*, *ksa*, *añ*, *cañ* and *cin*.

The seven stems of the Aorist are made in the following way:-

A) In case of *a*-conjugation, by adding *-a*-(either to the simple or reduplicated roots) and *-sa-* and

B) In case of non-thematic conjugation, by adding either nothing or *-s-*, *-iṣ-*, *-siṣ-* to the roots. The seven stems are , thus named according to their characters.

With few exceptions, the endings are constant throughout. The seven paradigms may be seen as follows:

1. A-AORIST

Sic, 'to pour'

Active

a-sica-l

a-sica-ḥi

a-sica-m

a-sica-tām

a-sica-tam

a-sicā-va

a-sica-n

a-sica-ta

a-sicā-ma

Middle

<i>a-sica-ta</i>	<i>a-sice-tām</i>	<i>a-sica-hla</i>
<i>a-sica-thāḥ</i>	<i>a-sicethām</i>	<i>a-sica-dhvam</i>
<i>a-sice</i>	<i>a-sicā-vah</i>	<i>a-sicā-mah</i>

2. ROOT-AORIST

In this form the endings are added to the roots. There are no infix to separate them.

dā 'to give'

<i>a-dā-t</i>	<i>a-dā-tām</i>	<i>a-duḥ</i>
<i>a-dā-ḥ</i>	<i>a-dā-tam</i>	<i>a-dā-ta</i>
<i>a-dām</i>	<i>a-dā-va</i>	<i>a-dā-ma</i>

3. REDUPLICATED AORIST

The stems of this aorist are made by peculiar reduplication of the verbs, and *-a-* is added to it as infix. The verb is weakened before reduplicating. The inherent-*ya-* is dropped.

Some special rules of reduplication are applied that 'a' and 'r' are reduplicated by *ṛ*, and the vowels of the reduplicated syllables, unless long by position, are lengthened.

jan 'to give birth'

<i>a-jījanat</i>	<i>a-jījana-tām</i>	<i>ajījana-n</i>
<i>a-jījana-ḥ</i>	<i>a-jījana-tam</i>	<i>a-jījana-ta</i>
<i>a-jījana-m</i>	<i>a-jījanā-va</i>	<i>a-jījanā-ma</i>

4. S-AORIST

This form of aorist takes *-s-* to its stem

In *parasmaipada* endings, the final and the short penultimate vowels of the roots take *vrddhi*.

The 3rd and 2nd Singular forms take the help of an extra 'ī'.

The 3rd Plural *parasmaipada* ending is -'uḥ'.
nī 'to carry'

<i>a-nai-ṣ-īt</i>	<i>a-nai-ṣ-tām</i>	<i>a-nai-ṣ-uḥ</i>
<i>a-nai-ṣ-ī-h</i>	<i>a-nai-ṣ-tam</i>	<i>a-nai-ṣ-ṭa</i>
<i>a-nai-ṣ-am</i>	<i>a-nai-ṣ-va</i>	<i>a-nai-ṣ-ma</i>

In *ātmanepada* endings, the final *i* and *u* take *guṇa*. The infixal *s* is always dropped between two stops, and elsewhere changes are due to *sandhi*.

<i>a-ne-ṣ-ṭa</i>	<i>a-ne-ṣ-ātām</i>	<i>a-ne-ṣ-ata</i>
<i>a-ne-ṣ-ṭhāḥ</i>	<i>a-ne-ṣ-āthām</i>	<i>a-ne-ḍhvam</i>
<i>a-ne-ṣ-i</i>	<i>a-ne-ṣ-vahi</i>	<i>a-ne-ṣ-mahi</i>

5. IṢ-AORIST

In this stem is formed by adding-*iṣ-* to the roots. In *parasmaipada* 3rd and 2nd singular it is dropped, and simple-*ī-* takes its place, the penultimate short vowels of the roots always take *guṇa*, but 'a' becomes 'ā.' The final vowels take *vrddhi* in *Parasmaipada*, *guṇa* in *ātmanepada*.

budh 'to know'

Parasmaipada

<i>a-bodh-ī-t</i>	<i>a-bodh-iṣ-tām</i>	<i>a-bodh-iṣ-uḥ</i>
<i>a-bodh-ī-h</i>	<i>a-bodh-iṣ-tam</i>	<i>a-bodh-iṣ-ṭa</i>
<i>a-bodh-iṣ-am</i>	<i>a-bodh-iṣ-va</i>	<i>a-bodh-iṣ-ma</i>

Ātmanepada

<i>ā-bodh-iṣ-ṭa</i>	<i>a-bodh-iṣ-ātām</i>	<i>a-both-iṣ-ata</i>
<i>a-bodh-iṣ-ṭhāḥ</i>	<i>a-bodh-iṣ-āthām</i>	<i>a-bodh-ī-ḍhvam</i>
<i>a-bodh-iṣ-i</i>	<i>a-bodh-iṣ-vahi</i>	<i>a-bodh-iṣ-mahi</i>

6. *Siṣ-AORIST*

This aorist is formed by *-siṣ-*. it is added to few roots ending in *a*, and to *yam*, *ram* and *nam*. Stem of this aorist takes place only *parasmaipada* endings.

yā 'to go'

<i>a-yā-sīt</i>	<i>a-yā-siṣ-tām</i>	<i>a-yā-siṣ-uḥ</i>
<i>a-yā-sī-ḥ</i>	<i>a-yā-siṣ-tam</i>	<i>a-yā-siṣ-ta</i>
<i>a-yā-siṣ-am</i>	<i>a-yā-siṣ-va</i>	<i>a-yā-siṣ-ma</i>

7. *SA-AORIST*

In this form of aorist, the infix *-sa-* is added to the unmodified roots, but the final consonants are always reduced to 'k' which itself cerebralises the following 's'. Therefore the stems of the *sa*-aorist end in *-kṣa-*:

diś 'to point'

Parasmaipada

<i>a-dikṣa-t</i>	<i>a-dikṣa-tām</i>	<i>a-dikṣa-n</i>
<i>a-dikṣa-ḥ</i>	<i>a-dikṣa-tam</i>	<i>a-dikṣa-ta</i>
<i>a-dikṣa-m</i>	<i>a-dikṣā-va</i>	<i>a-dikṣā-ma</i>

Ātmanepada

<i>a-dikṣa-ta</i>	<i>a-dikṣa-tām</i>	<i>a-dikṣa-nta</i>
<i>a-dikṣa-thāḥ</i>	<i>a-dikṣā-thām</i>	<i>a-dikṣa-dhavam</i>
<i>a-dikṣi</i>	<i>a-dikṣā-vahi</i>	<i>a-dikṣā-mahi</i>

In nutshell;

1. *Luṇi* is a *ṇit lakāra*, therefore, the general *ṭṛṇi*¹ affixes for all tenses and moods are modified as:-

a. The final 's' of the 1st person in *parasmaipada* is elided by the *sūtra nityam ṇitaḥ* (3.4.99), *v* and *m* therefore replace *vas* and *mas*.

b) The final *i* of the *parasmaipada* is also elided by the *sūtra itaśca* (3.4.100), therefore *ti*, *jhi* and *si* are replaced by *t*, *jh* and *s*.

iii) *tas*, *thas*, *tha* and *mīp* are replaced by *tām*, *tam*, *ta* and *am* in *parasmaipada* by the *sūtra*:

tas-thas-tha-mīpām tā-tam-ta-āmāḥ (3.4.101)

In *luṇi lakāra*, affix *cli* is added to a root base by the *sūtra cleḥ sic* (3.1.44).

iii) *sic* is an *ārdhadhātuka* affix by the *sūtra ārdhadhātukam śeṣaḥ* (3.4.114).

s, being a *val*, the augment *it* is allowed by the *sūtra a ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ* (7.2.35) and the final vowel takes the *guṇa* substitution before *it* by the *sūtra sārvaadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ* (7.3.84) and also, the penultimate short vowel takes *guṇa* substitution by *pugantalaghūpadhasya ca* (7.3.86).

IV) There is an addition of augment *it* after *sic* for the roots ending in consonants.² and *jh* is replaced by *jus* (*us*) for *sic*³

V) The *ātmanepada* affixes remain unchanged.

VI) The *parasmaipada* affixes, therefore, are—

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1. The *pratyāhār ṭṛṇi* stands for all tense affixes, generally, as *tip-tas-jhi-thas-tha-mīp-vas-mas-ta-ātām-jha-thās-āthām-dvam-iṭ-vahi-mahri* (3.4.78). The *ṇi* of *ṭṛṇi* is indicatory and elided
 2. *astisico' prkte* (7.3.96)
 3. *śyabhyastavridbhyasca* (3.4.109)

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Dual</i>	<i>Plural</i>
Ist person	<i>am</i>	<i>va</i>	<i>ma</i>
IInd person	<i>is/s</i>	<i>tam</i>	<i>ta</i>
IIIRD person	<i>it/t</i>	<i>lām</i>	<i>us</i>

VII) and *ātmanepadī* affixes are—

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Dual</i>	<i>Plural</i>
Ist person	<i>i</i>	<i>vahi</i>	<i>mahi</i>
IInd person	<i>thās</i>	<i>āthām</i>	<i>dhvam</i>
IIIRD person	<i>ta</i>	<i>ālām</i>	<i>ata</i>

VIII) a) The augment *a* (*aṭ*) is attached to the roots beginning with consonants by the *sūtra*.

luṅ-laṅ-lṛṅkṣvaḍudāttah (6.4.71)

b) and the augment *ā* (*āḍ*) is attached to the roots beginning with vowels by the *sūtra*:

āḍajādīnām (6.4.72)

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